

The Nation.

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The Week.

A WEEK from to-day the political struggle in Tennessee comes to an end in the election—a temporary end, at least, though there are likely to be after-claps in the fight for the Senatorship, the great prize of the present contest, and though there is no doubt that we are to have fighting enough in the widened arena which will be used by the combatants—Republican, Democratic, and Old-line Whig—after Governor Senter's new registrars have done their work, and taken down the barriers that shut out the disfranchised. It is reported on all hands that Senter's new registrars are unscrupulous in admitting disenabled citizens to the voting lists, and that Senter, whose election is generally conceded, will find himself at the mercy of the Democrats, and will find a Democratic Legislature at the capital who will elect Andrew Johnson Senator. This latter calamity—for it would be nothing else—is, however, to be averted, other accounts say, and the Republicans, with the help of the Whigs—who still exist in Tennessee as in Virginia, North Carolina, and other parts of the country a little out of the main currents of affairs—are expected to elect to the Senate some such person as Emerson Etheridge. Mr. Boutwell's letter to General Stokes seems to have had the effect of warning the office-holders that they will do well for themselves if they abstain from furthering Governor Senter's cause. But, as we have said, victory seems to lie in the hands of the registrars, and it is much more than doubtful if anything can save Stokes, and if within ten days Tennessee is not by fair means or foul practically committed to the policy of amnesty. But, after that, what with the negroes, the Radicals, and the anti-Democrats, it will be possible, good observers say, to keep the State in the hands of the anti-Conservatives; so the prospect is not altogether so black as it might be. One thing is certain—under the proscriptive policy set up by Brownlow, and kept up till it pleased him to kick it down, peace would have been impossible.

As was to have been expected, the Southern Radical negroes look on Conservative negroes as traitors to their race, and latterly in Virginia, and more recently in South Carolina, they have been shocking the white men very much by their "proscriptive spirit"—the life of a white man in either of these States who votes against his race being a very pleasant one as long as it lasts—which in South Carolina is some-

times not so very long. The immediate cause of the Charleston riot appears to have been the presence in the city of a brass band composed of colored Democrats from Savannah, who had accompanied a white base-ball club to Charleston, and were attacked by the colored men of the city for being Democrats. But there seems to have been a preceding riot, also speedily quelled, which was caused merely by the unwillingness of the crowd to move off the ball ground when ordered by the police. The military had to be called out, for Mayor Pillsbury, a man of good intentions, but very little force of character, did not know what to do. The city papers, of course, make the most of the affair, for they hate Mr. Pillsbury and do not like negroes; but really there was very little in it, unless it has some value as an admonition to the Charlestonians to choose their policemen carefully, drill them well, and put them under efficient officers. From the rest of the South, the news is of little interest. Judge Dent will get and accept the Conservative Republican nomination in Mississippi; Alabama Republicans expect to send to Congress five out of the six Representatives; and everywhere the news in regard to the crops continues very favorable. There is talk of the largest cotton crop that has yet been raised, and the prospect of Chinese laborers is welcomed eagerly, while the charge that it is desired to engage in the Coolie trade, or to do anything but introduce free immigrants and pay them good wages, is stoutly denied. The whole business of Chinese immigration in its larger aspect, as well as in its details, will doubtless receive some of the early attention of Congress.

Mr. Boutwell has issued his statement of the public debt for August, and it is really, like all his other statements, a charming document. Of course it contains nothing hostile to religion or morals, and not an expression in it would bring the faintest tinge to the most modest cheek, but for this Mr. Boutwell would hardly claim praise. What he may claim praise for is, furnishing a detailed account of the character of various Government securities which the most enslaved and oppressed woman can understand as readily as the president of the Academy of Science. The aggregate of the debt bearing coin interest is \$2,107,931,300; bearing interest in paper, \$64,810,000; the debt bearing no interest, consisting of greenbacks and the like, and which the Butlerites wish to increase indefinitely, is \$423,872,859; and to this must be added \$60,860,320 worth of bonds issued in aid of railroads. Since the 1st of March the debt has been reduced \$43,896,523; since the 1st of July, \$7,435,744, and next month is expected to bring it down \$10,000,000 more. All this does not exactly raise Mr. Boutwell to the level of Turgot or Gladstone, because he operates with a heavy surplus drawn from a country of almost fabulous resources, and with a rapidly increasing population, and is doing only what the law directs. He has no intricate problems of finance to solve; but then, when we consider how much less he might do with perfect impunity, we ought to feel thankful to him—and we do. If he will now abandon all official interest in the Tennessee and other elections, and lend a helping hand in reforming the Civil Service, he will have established everlasting claims on the popular gratitude.

"The longer the Indians can be treated fraudulently in a condition of semi-peace, the more money the agents, contractors, sutlers, and frontiersmen generally can make," because we have been in the habit of buying them off when they took the war-path, and the Indian Bureau and the Indian ring had the handling of the money; but there really seems now to be some hope that the ugly-looking Indian ques-

tion may receive a solution not so disgraceful to our civilization as any one that has hitherto seemed possible. Such as persistently run wild, robbing and murdering, will have to be exterminated, unless they accept defeat—dealt with as Carr and Corse have been dealing with them. But an effort to tame them will no doubt succeed, in the case of a good many, as it has already succeeded with the Cherokees, who once owned negroes and who have high-schools. It is intended to put all peaceable Indians into two great reservations—a Northern and a Southern—the one being now in charge of General Harney, the other of General Hazen. From the Southern Reservation very good accounts come already. An army officer, writing to the *Mail* of this city, says it will be occupied by the Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes—tribes numbering altogether between 6,000 and 7,000, and that of these there are already within the reservation more than 4,000 souls, with more than a thousand acres of rich land under cultivation, more than a hundred patches, containing from a few square rods apiece to ten acres apiece, while “pumpkins, melons, vines, and garden vegetables in fabulous quantities are growing everywhere.” Several houses have been built and more are to be built, and schools are projected and asked for. It required a good deal of talk to effect so much, but now “even Ten Bears wants his patch fenced in,” which we suppose is a fact of great promise, though we do not remember how sanguinary and indocile that chief has been. With the help of Grant’s civilian commissioners and of some such body as the Sanitary Commission, it seems as if great good might be done among these people. Of course they will be for some time in a state of pupilage, and must not be expected to stand alone; a couple of bad successive seasons might send them all back to murder and pillage, and the charity of the American people may properly be invoked in their favor.

There is a conflict of evidence as to whether they are enforcing the Prohibitory Law in Massachusetts or not. State Constable Jones takes the *Springfield Republican* to task for saying that “in Boston the liquor law is a dead letter,” and makes the editor a bold promise to the effect that if “any candid and fair individual will point out an open bar in the entire State,” he will forthwith “abate the nuisance;” but there isn’t any open bar. To this the editor replies by enquiring of the State Constable “if he is so jolly green as not to be aware that there are hundreds of bars open in the State?” Furthermore, he says to Major Jones that he and his assistants are commissioned and paid by the State for collecting and acting upon the information which the Major desires the candid and fair individual to furnish; and that, what is more, they have the information and could shut up plenty of open bars any day they liked. But is either the constable or the editor so jolly green, we should like to know, as to suppose that the politicians of the Republican party in Massachusetts, after being so civil to the temperance men in the matter of making them a law just as they wanted, are now going to endanger the party’s political ascendancy by enforcing it? They no more intend it this time than they ever intended it before. They know that a certain number of the temperance men—if not all of them—with the zeal which characterizes moral reformers, would “bolt” if they were not pacified by being allowed to seem to have their own way as regards total abstinence, or to try to have their own way, and that with three parties running, the Democrats might very probably slip into power. But if Judge Pitman imagines that the Bullocks, Butlers, and Loring, and the Slacks and other politicians, small and great, are going to give the State real prohibition till they are forced to do it, he is singularly confiding. Whether they can be forced, is another question.

A curious meeting has just been held in Lowell, at which clergymen who favor compulsory total abstinence sat side by side with liquor-dealers—whom some of them seemed to regard with a good deal of the feeling expressed in the old Washingtonian tracts about “the rum-seller”—and all agreed harmoniously, and with cheers, to demand the strict enforcement of the law; the one party expecting it to break down completely; the other believing, apparently, that more

and sharper constables are all that are needed to make the sale of liquor almost unknown in Massachusetts. But the practical Republican politicians do not seem to have been represented in this assemblage, and, till the liquor-dealers and their friends go over to the Democrats in much greater numbers than ever they have on previous similar occasions, or till the earnest prohibitionists do some bolting, the meetings may be held, but the law will be enforced with much politeness.

The Washington correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser*, who is, as we have often had occasion to remark, an unusually sensible and well-informed and accurate writer, says—*apropos* of the reports in circulation as to the truculent character of Sickles’s instructions—that neither the President nor Cabinet desires the annexation of Cuba at present, and that our Minister is not, therefore, as some people would have us believe, charged to bully the Spaniards into surrendering the island, or into selling it to the inhabitants for notes endorsed by the United States. The truth of the matter, the correspondent thinks, is that Sickles is instructed to urge the extension of Cuban liberties, either by the admission of the island to complete equality with the mother country, or its erection into a *quasi* independent principality like Canada, or the sale of the island to the inhabitants “on time” without security; and the correspondent thinks this is Grant’s favorite scheme, and the one to which Sickles has been instructed to show most favor. All talk of Spain’s receiving any cash from the Cubans beyond the first instalment on “a time sale,” however, has, it as well to say, a humorous side to it on which we shall not dwell. The idea of Spain being entitled to any money from the inhabitants for leaving them in quiet possession of their own soil would be the best joke of the season, both in Havana and Washington, about the time the second payment came due. We mention this now solely through a regrettable want of control over our countenance. The Cuban military authorities have very brutally murdered, under the form of a military execution, after a very slight investigation, two, as it appears, innocent Americans, whom they found on board a filibustering vessel, and are offering to apologize for it or compensate their relatives. This sort of thing might have been prevented if Admiral Hoff had been instructed three months ago to give the volunteers plainly to understand that the stringency with which we were enforcing the neutrality laws was **not** an indication of sympathy with them or of a disposition to wink at their excesses.

Senator Wilson has come to the support of Mr. Parton and his article on the “Strikers” at Washington in the last *Atlantic*, and “thanks him for it, and expresses his surprise at the perfect truthfulness of his [Mr. Parton’s] statements.” He adds “that he has served with more than two hundred Senators, and among them all there are scarcely any whom he could so much as suspect of a corrupt motive.” He then says, “Such articles as yours tend to increase the faith of the people and to strengthen honesty. That is my judgment, and I thank you for it.” The *Boston Journal* thinks this ought to put the *Nation* to shame, in view of its recent strictures on Mr. Parton’s article. On the contrary, the *Nation* finds Senator Wilson’s letter very amusing reading. The very article he praises so highly accuses seven of the Senators, at least, of having taken bribes from whiskey-dealers and others to render a false judgment in a judicial proceeding. Taking bribes in an ordinary legislative proceeding is nothing to this; and as the charge comes from a warm friend of Mr. B. F. Butler, it is fair to presume that he has passed over in silence some corruption on the other side, so that, if Mr. Parton’s statements be true, Mr. Wilson’s hearty commendation of his article is simply ludicrous. What the *Nation* tried to do was to hold it up to reprobation as a disgraceful attack on the Senate, evidently written under the inspiration of one of the most unscrupulous politicians in the country, who had appeared before it as counsel in a cause in the result of which he had a strong personal interest, and had been defeated. To represent the *Nation*, as the *Journal* does, as an assailant of Congressional character in this case, and Mr. Parton as its defender, reads a little like a poor joke. The public, however, is gradually getting to understand this sort of thing.

Some of the other papers say that Mr. John Bigelow is at this moment editing the *New York Times*, and, as the *Times* does not deny it, we presume he is, and its readers are, doubtless, as we are, very glad to believe it to be true. A kind of hortatory article on the uses and abuses of journalism appeared in the paper of Tuesday morning, which read likewhile is called "a salutatory," was excellent of its kind, and, if lived up to, as we have no doubt it will be, will make the *Times* in certain aspects a real blessing to the community. Two things in it are specially notable: one, a recognition of the moral responsibility of editors for the lies of correspondents and telegraphers. A general recognition of it by editors would thin the ranks of the "reportorial" profession seriously. We have yet to hear of a single case in which a correspondent has found himself injured professionally by habitual misrepresentation as long as he was "spicy." The second is a recognition of the mischief and repulsiveness of the practice of puffing obscure people and chronicling their doings. The *Times* might have gone further, however, and put in a word against the puffing of notorious rascals. It ought also to have said a word in condemnation of the common editorial practice of surrendering newspaper columns to any young man who happens to be employed as a correspondent, and allowing him, without any check or supervision, to mingle with his news his own absurd or foolish opinions on all sorts of subjects, together with "digs" at, or damaging stories about, his personal enemies.

The projectors of the new Atlantic Cable, having undertaken in a letter to Mr. Fish to submit themselves, so far as in their own power, to the conditions proposed in the bill introduced into Congress last session, and to endeavor to procure from the French Government the abolition of the monopoly created as to the French coast in their favor, our Government has offered no opposition to the landing of the cable. There is talk of an American cable—that is, of a cable owned in America, and, we suppose, paid out from this side; but we fear no cable can, in the present state of American industry, be made here cheap enough to compete with those of English manufacture. There will probably be an indefinite number laid within the next ten or fifteen years, and in twenty we should not be surprised to see a great deal of the correspondence of the more important kinds between Europe and America carried on by cable. As the world gets familiarized with the telegraph, and business adapts itself to its use, the impatience of the rich and the business men with the letter-post will grow, and at last become uncontrollable.

There has been an interesting debate in the House of Commons on "the Central Asian Question," in which the probabilities of an attack on India by Russia were fully discussed—the weightiest and most authoritative speaker being Mr. Grant Duff. He pooh-poohs the idea that the Russian position in Central Asia endangers the British Empire in India, showing that the Russian army of occupation is so small, their real base of supplies so far off, the distances they would have to traverse in order to reach the British frontier so great, and in a military sense so aggravated by the absence of roads, the wildness of the country, and the character of the native population, that it is "preposterous" to fear a hostile advance from them. The *Times* takes a different view as to the nature of their occupation of Central Asia, believing it to be more solid and permanent than Mr. Grant Duff does, but holds that their civilizing influence must prove a source of security instead of peril to the English dominions. In the meantime, there is no doubt that, whatever the facts may be, the talk of the Russian advance is already seriously agitating the minds of the Hindoos, and a pamphlet of an Indian officer of high rank attempts to show that the spread amongst the natives of a belief that England was really afraid of Russia, and had reason to be, would be a serious matter. Shere Ali, the new Ameer of Afghanistan, finds himself growing more "interesting" both to Russians and English every day; and if he does not make a good thing out of their competition for his affections, he must differ from most Asiatics of his mental calibre.

There has been a meeting in London of the National Society of Women's Suffrage, at which Mrs. Peter A. Taylor presided, and Mr. John Stuart Mill, Lord Houghton, and Mr. John Morley, of the *Fort-*

nightly Review, spoke. The meeting was numerous attended, and was, in point of intellect, very weighty. It appeared from the report that during the year 229 petitions, signed by 41,000 persons, had been presented to Parliament, and 18,500 pamphlets distributed. There was nothing very new in the speeches, but they were all very hopeful, except Mrs. Taylor's, whose gloom, however, Professor Fawcett endeavored to dispel by examples of difficulties overcome drawn from his own experience. The society is about to lose one very truculent and powerful enemy in the person of Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the barrister, and principal writer for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, whose fierce tussle in the *Gazette*, some months ago, with Miss Helen Taylor, on the subject of women's rights, was one of the prettiest pieces of intellectual fence ever witnessed. He goes out to India as Legislative Member of the Council in place of Mr. Maine, the author of the "Ancient Law," who retires. Mr. Stephen is an utter radical on almost every other subject, but touching the arrangement of the family he is a disciple of the patriarchs, and the most formidable upholder of their system. His departure will probably be worth to the society 100 petitions, signed by, say, 20,000 persons.

The Emperor has at last sent his long and anxiously expected message making concessions to the Liberals. He offers to allow ministers to sit as members in the Senate and Assembly; but while they are to be responsible for their acts, they will depend only on the Emperor, and can only be impeached by the Senate; to surrender the right of making changes in the tariff or postal system by treaty without parliamentary authority; and to permit "interpellation" or questioning of ministers in their places on notice; to allow to the Corps Législatif, as well as himself and the Senate, the right of introducing bills, but they must be referred to a committee and to the Council of State—leaving the Corps, however, the final decision; and to leave to both Houses the privilege of electing their own officers. The Senate met on Monday to draw up the "senatus consultum," in which all these changes are to be embodied. The new ministry contains only a few new men—notably Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, a middle-aged trimmer of high degree, and Duvergier. Rouhier goes out, of course, regretted by none, and with the reputation of one of the ablest "Swiss" that ever took the floor. Duruy, the late Minister of Public Instruction, is a real loss. He has done more for the cause of education in France than any of his predecessors, and has been the object of fierce and bitter hostility at the hands of the priest party, aided and abetted, it is said, by the Empress. One of his worst offences in their eyes, as our readers may remember, was his efforts to establish a system of higher education for women. His successor, M. Bourbeau, is a man of Ultramontane leanings.

Spanish affairs have reached a shape in which they are likely to remain till the Cortes meets again in October. Everything is ready for a monarch, but no monarch appears, and Prim says the reason is that the affairs of the kingdom have been in such a disordered condition that nobody would take the crown at any price; but the constitution once adopted, the republican agitation put down, and the finances regulated, a king can be found—and, in fact, one is now ready. Who it is that is waiting for the throne is a matter of guess, but the public eye is turned to Montpensier as the coming man. He has just got back to his home, and Prim, in reply to the remonstrances of the Republicans on his being allowed to re-enter, asked, and was not answered, for a legal reason for expelling him. Marshal Serrano has got the title of "Highness" as regent, and is getting on very well under it, having squelched a small Carlist rising without much trouble. He has, by-the-by, formally received General Sickles, and expressed his admiration for that person, in good set diplomatic terms, which leads us to fear that his copy of the *New York World* does not reach him regularly. A letter to the Council of Ministers from the Captain-General of Madrid—drawing a very gloomy picture of the state of the country, and announcing his intention of retiring into private life if a monarch is not at once chosen and order restored—has produced a good deal of impression on the public mind, and it is supported by other accounts—all of which agree in pronouncing Spain to be in a very bad way.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SOUTHERN POLITICS.

THERE is a good deal of discussion going on about the letters Messrs. Boutwell and other members of the Cabinet have thought proper to write to Tennessee, expressing their preference for Stokes over Senter for the governorship of the State—Stokes representing the policy of continued proscription, and Senter that of immediate enfranchisement of the ex-rebels, numbering in all, it is said, about 100,000. The sympathies of the various members of the Administration in the case of Virginia have not been so openly manifested, but whatever Grant's may be—and they are said to incline to Walker—the relation of the two parties in Virginia so closely resembles those of the two parties in Tennessee, that we can hardly err in placing Messrs. Boutwell and Cresswell on the side of Wells.

There are two objections to members of the Cabinet writing letters of encouragement, or otherwise taking part in State elections at the South, which are both worth the consideration. One is, that the opinion of members of the Cabinet as to the way in which Republicans should vote in Tennessee or any other State, is worth no more than the opinion of any other citizen of another State, of mature age and fair capacity, who has never lived in Tennessee, and has no special knowledge of the temper of the people, of the drift of popular feeling, of the necessities of the day, and of the character of the local politicians. Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Cresswell, in other words, know no more about the way a Republican should vote in Tennessee than Mr. Senter knows about how a man should vote in New York. They know they don't know it, and the Tennesseans all know it, and indeed everybody knows it. They have no special acquaintance with Tennessean politics, and, *per se*, their letters, if they wrote them in private life, or even as members of Congress, would simply be a piece of impertinence, to which the State voters would pay no heed. Indeed, we risk nothing in saying that Mr. Boutwell or Mr. Cresswell hardly expects anybody in Tennessee to vote for any particular candidate in deference to his opinion, *as an opinion*. What he expects is that his letter will influence people—but through their fears, not through their judgment.

In other words, the reason why the opinions of these two gentlemen about the Tennessean election are of such importance is, that one of them appoints all the postmasters and the other all the revenue assessors and collectors and inspectors, and so forth, in the State, and, consequently, can remove the persons now filling those places. Were it not for this, the opinions of Mr. Fish, or Mr. Robeson, or General Sheridan, or Mr. Hoar would be just as valuable as theirs. What they really mean when they recommend Stokes for the suffrages of Tennessean voters is not simply that, in their estimation, Stokes is the best man for the governorship, but that if any Federal office-holder in Tennessee fails to "work" for Stokes, or to use his influence for him, he will be made to "rotate" in his office in such a way that the office will become vacant, and another citizen of more zeal be called to fill it. In fact, their letters are simply threats to abuse the patronage at their disposal for the purpose of influencing a political contest which concerns them no more than any other American citizen, and concerns them far less than it concerns the voters in Tennessee, and about the merits of which they are not well informed, and in which any mistake on their part would do incalculable mischief. We pass over with a mere mention the obvious fact, that the duties of those who are charged with the management-in-chief of the Treasury and Post-office of the United States are just now of such magnitude that it is no disparagement to either Mr. Boutwell or Mr. Cresswell to say, that men of twice their ability and powers of work, great as these may be, would find in them full employment for all their faculties of whatever nature.

The second objection is that their interference helps to maintain and stimulate the feeling of antagonism and mistrust between the mass of the Southern people and the Federal Government, which is one of the great difficulties of reconstruction. A State once admitted to the Union, the punishment of any portion of its population for having taken part in the rebellion ceases to be the duty of the Administration or of anybody connected with it. Even if we admit that

it is a matter of concern to the Federal Government that the franchise in every State should be impartially bestowed, it is not a matter of concern to it, and it ought not to act as if it were, that a certain portion of the population should be disfranchised for past offences. In so far as Congress has not provided for anything of the kind, the matter ought to be left in the hands of the people of the State, who understand it. Attempts on the part of officers of the General Government to secure a continuance of a policy of proscription, against the wishes and the judgment of even a portion of the Republican party, are, therefore, ill-judged as well as indecent, and are calculated to prolong hatred and distrust of the United States amongst that immense and influential class of the Southern people—the men and women who aided and abetted in the rebellion, and their children. If this were a despotic government, it would make no difference how these people feel or were likely to feel; but as it is a democratic republic, it is, we submit, our duty and our interest to try to placate them, and would be, though they were all possessed by devils. The time for punishment of rebels, as far as regards the Federal Government, was during the continuance of military rule, and the place for punishment was the courts. The opportunities thus presented having passed away, all talk of the matter had better cease. We do not expect Mr. Boutwell to give offices to rebels or Democrats, but we do expect him not to use his patronage to help to divide the Republican party at a State election on a question of disfranchisement.

In this, as in many similar cases, Mr. Boutwell, as well as many other Republicans, does not seem to have ever asked himself a question which all politicians ought to ask themselves every hour, and that is, "What practical good will result from what I am doing?" The great end in view, in all the whole process of reconstruction, is to bring back the Southern people as speedily as possible to true allegiance—that is, allegiance of the heart to the United States. Keeping the most influential portion of the community disfranchised, therefore, could only be justified on the ground that it would promote love of human equality and of the Union amongst the disfranchised. To believe that it would have this effect, it would be necessary to disregard all we know of human nature and of history. The natural effect of proscription is to excite hatred and discontent. It is only justifiable as a means of security—but this it can never be as long as the proscribed have a near prospect of coming into power. So that to make further exclusion of the Southern whites from a share in the government a measure that will bear examination, we ought to make it perpetual. Military government, in short, may have its uses, and may do good; but class government, whether based on loyalty, caste, or color, is sure to breed bad passions, and, if they exist already, runs a fair chance of making them perennial. Men will almost always sooner be governed by a dictator than by neighbors they detest.

THE RECENT ATTACK ON THE USURERS.

THERE is a vast difference, not always sufficiently remembered, between what law writers call *mala in se* and *mala prohibita*: that is, between offences against laws enforcing some principle of abstract justice or morality, and laws merely embodying some people's views of what is advantageous for the regulation of commerce or industry. The former are wrongs, whether they be legally prohibited or not, and whether the legal prohibition of them be enforced or not. The latter are wrongs only so long as the prohibition remains on the statute-book, or has not fallen into desuetude. To commit murder or to accept a bribe is a wrong, whether prohibited by statute or not. To have carriage-wheels of more than a certain width is prohibited by the laws of many States, and is, justly or unjustly, punishable by fine and even imprisonment. The law against murder or bribery may not be enforced by a lax government, but the crime remains; the law concerning carriage-wheels is a law only so long as it is enforced. When the circumstances which led to its enactment have so entirely changed and disappeared that the law itself has become unnecessary or mischievous, it naturally falls into abeyance. There are in every country numerous laws or enactments which involve no principle of justice or morality—which, owing to the continuous changes going on in the affairs of men, have ceased to be necessary or useful—and which

have gradually fallen into disuse and become totally disregarded, although they have never been expunged from the statute-book, and remain to this day nominally the law of the land. They *should*, indeed, be expunged from the statute-book, and would be, were it not that legislators find it more profitable to legislate on the affairs of railroad and other corporations than to attend to their legitimate duties.

To this class of laws belong the usury laws. It seems as if no sane man could argue that there is any violation of justice or morality in receiving or paying eight per cent. interest on money that is not equally involved in receiving seven; that it can be just to receive twelve per cent. in Illinois, but a crime to receive eight in New York, or seven in Massachusetts; that it is justifiable for the Government of the United States to pay twelve per cent., or seven per cent. in gold, or seven and three-tenths per cent. in currency, but sinful for its citizens resident in the State of New York to do the same. There are men who claim that it is wicked to receive any interest at all on money, but even they see no greater wickedness in taking eight per cent. than in taking seven. In fact, no man worth listening to has ever yet attempted to place usury laws upon any foundation of justice or morality, or to defend them on any ground save that of expediency, based on the belief that the great mass of borrowers are not capable of judging for themselves what interest they can afford to pay, and that the lenders have it in their power to extort all sorts of unreasonable terms for the money which they have to lend. The usury laws, having no foundation in justice or morality, but being founded only on principles of expediency (which have been found to be extremely inexpedient), have gradually come to be totally disregarded. For years and years they have not been enforced; the best and purest citizens have infringed them daily, not secretly or in disguise, but openly and in the market-place; the daily journals have quoted the transactions as part of the natural and legitimate business operations of the country; corporations, cities, counties, the United States Government itself, have thousands of times infringed, are daily infringing, these laws all through the State, as well as in sight of Trinity steeple; common consent, universal practice, the whole force of public opinion, all stamp usury laws as obsolete and dead; and the commercial community has unanimously branded as dishonorable all attempts to appeal to them in evasion of legitimate business engagements. Yet here we find in New York City a jury, composed of intelligent merchants, framing bills of indictment against reputable bankers for infringing laws that are deemed obsolete by common consent, and that no man dare appeal to in his own defence without being stigmatized as dishonest and tricky. What does it mean?

It means that a large and daily increasing portion of the wealth of the country is getting to be employed in very questionable financial transactions, and that in the course of these transactions some weeks ago a number of influential capitalists had enormous speculative interests in the advance in the price of Government bonds and gold and other stocks, while a similar number of equally influential capitalists were equally interested in having the price of these different articles decline. Of course it was the interest of the latter to make money scarce, in order to force the former to sell. By taking advantage of the weak and expanded condition of some of the poorly managed banks, they frightened these into refusing to lend. By holding out inducements to officers of other banks, they bribed those into likewise refusing. By ingenious manoeuvres of various kinds, they threw a part of the financial machinery of the country into temporary confusion, and really succeeded in making money for a time so scarce that borrowers were glad to take it at any price, and readily paid as high as one-quarter and even one-half per cent. per day for its use. In this way those who were interested in the decline of stocks and bonds and gold—the *bears* of Wall Street—were really on the point of defeating their opponents—the *bulls*—and forcing them to sell. Then, but not till then, did the public conscience suddenly revolt with indignation at the depravity of the men who openly and barefacedly infringed these sacred usury laws. The press re-echoed or inspired the public demand for the enforcement of the law, the sympathy of all classes who had suffered inconvenience at least was enlisted, an example was required, the aid of the grand jury was invoked, the frightened bear

speculators promptly relaxed their hold upon the money market, money suddenly became abundant and easy to obtain at seven per cent. per annum, securities of all kinds rapidly advanced, the great bear combination was defeated, and the triumphant bulls went on their way rejoicing. The bulwark of liberty, the pillar of our institutions, the pride of Anglo-Saxon freemen, the grand jury of our fellow-citizens, was degraded into a simple piece of Wall-street speculation-machinery, and the whole country looked on with a dim and uncertain belief that the law had been vindicated, innocence protected, and that virtue was triumphant.

The whole proceeding is a piece of trickery and sham. The men who first complained, the jury that led the investigation, the witnesses summoned, the judge on the bench, all feel somewhat ashamed of their share in the proceedings; they all know as well as we do that the usury laws are as dead and obsolete as the laws relating to carriage-wheels in Jersey or to bakers' apprentices in Rhode Island; they all know that the appeal to these laws is a sham and a fraud, and that they have all been used together as convenient and despised tools of a set of gigantic gamblers, who are as ready to-day to appeal to the sacredness of obsolete laws as to defy all law to-morrow, if law happens to interfere with their reckless greed. But at the time when the proceedings were begun, this was scarcely recognized; it was impossible to deny the existence of the law; no one durst plead its obsolescence; the public sentiment, often passionate and hasty, had already prejudged the case; and thus the grand jury was hurried on until it brought in a formal indictment against a number of the principal offenders. As usually happens in such cases, the convicted offenders are not those who had anything to do with bringing about the great stringency, but entirely inoffensive persons, who, having money to lend, received therefor whatever interest it happened to be worth. Their transactions having been open and undisguised, they have all pleaded guilty, and now await the action of Judge Cardozo, upon whom falls the difficult task of deciding what punishment they shall suffer. We can scarcely expect that his decision will be rendered at an early day.

The question of most interest connected with this investigation is this: How is it that the usury laws are not repealed when their injustice, inefficiency, and absurdity are so generally recognized, and the laws themselves practically ignored? Besides the indisposition among legislators to attend to any business of real utility, and conscientious objections of ignorant members from the rural districts, there is said to exist a powerful opposition to the repeal where one would least expect it, viz., among the national banks. One would think that banks having money to lend would desire to be authorized to get as much as possible for it. But the contrary appears to be the fact. It was openly asserted during the recent excitement—with what truth we know not—that certain bank presidents were leagued with the speculative cliques who made money so scarce and expected to derive large profits therefrom. Indeed, it was said that the legal proceedings were begun partly with the hope of proving this charge against certain bank officers, although, as far as we are aware, no such proof has been furnished. It is very evident, however, that there is temptation enough in times like the present to lend color to the report that it is among bank officers that the opposition to repeal originates. At the next session of the Legislature the subject will unquestionably be again introduced, and we shall then have an opportunity to see who it is that is benefited by retaining the usury laws upon the statute-book.

THE PREVENTION OF BRIBERY.

SEVERAL schemes for the prevention of legislative bribery and corruption have been brought forward within the past two or three years. This is of course natural enough, when we reflect upon the vast amount of dishonesty in the various State capitals which has been brought to light within the same period of time. It might be said with truth, that, since the settlement of the Reconstruction question, one of the chief functions of the leading journalists of the more populous and active States has been the exposure of the log-rolling, wire-pulling, and open corruption practised by the various gentlemen whose election they had

themselves promoted and secured. In this condition of affairs, of course their minds have been greatly occupied with the invention of devices by which this lamentable running down of our political machinery may be stopped. The plans proposed are innumerable. On one side it is urged that, inasmuch as most of the corruption takes place in connection with "private bills," the legislatures should be prohibited by constitutional provision from passing any save general laws—in other words, that no laws either furthering or invading individual rights should be permitted—the argument being that, although it may be possible to hustle a bill affecting a single town or county or railroad through the legislature, it is manifestly impossible to hustle through a general law affecting all the towns or counties or railroads in a State, for the simple reason that the interests of one railroad would be at variance with those of another; that the grant wanted by one town would not be the grant desired by all; that the bill very popular in the county of Jericho would be detestable in the eyes of the inhabitants of the county of Jerusalem. And in some of the States constitutional provisions against special legislation do actually exist. But to the argument to which we have just referred, it is objected that legislatures which are intent on corruption will probably find means to override the restriction; that laws may easily be framed, general indeed in form, but affecting only a single individual or corporation.

Again, it has been urged that corruption may be greatly reduced, if not entirely destroyed, by limiting the duration of legislative sessions—the argument being that if time enough for necessary business only is allowed, it will be extremely difficult for corrupt law-makers to find that opportunity for crime which sessions of uncertain length are continually offering. But to this it has been replied, in the first place, that the short sessions, combined with frequent re-elections, make the matter ten times worse, for each legislator remains on the stage so short a time that he has no sense of responsibility; he therefore occupies his short moment of power not in the transaction of necessary business, which would bring him only the reward of conscious integrity, but the unnecessary business which brings him in solid wealth and notoriety. A legislature which should sit for some months, it has been said, may be watched to some purpose, but in a session of a few weeks any scandal may be perpetrated with impunity. Imagine, for example, the Legislature of New York sitting for a week! And it is further said that, as an actual fact, there is very little difference as to corruption between the States in which the duration of the sessions is limited and those in which no limit is set. Kindred arguments are also in use, *pro* and *con.*, as to the possibility of stopping bribery by lengthening or shortening the term of office. Does any one believe that a long term secures honesty? Let him look at Florida. Did any one believe that a short term secured it? Let him look at New York!

The common way of effecting the object in view is, of course, the passage of stringent penal laws, such as have been introduced into the new constitution of this State, drawn up two years since. But the most novel and original plan is one lately brought forward and urged with great gravity by the *Chicago Tribune*. That journal, after saying that no effective anti-bribery law has ever been framed, proposes the passage of the following constitutional provision, which it thinks will meet the case thoroughly:

"1. No vote of either House of the Legislature, or signature of the Governor or other officer essential to the passage of any act, shall be valid if it be induced by any personal fear, favor, reward, or hope of reward, in or to any member or officer voting for or signing the same.

"2. The Courts of Record of the State, in any suit or prosecution wherein the rights or interests of parties are affected by any act of the Legislature, or signature of any officer, may, at any time within one year after the passage or performance of such act, on the application of the parties to the suit, join and try the issue, whether such act or signature were induced or affected as aforesaid; and, if the act or signature were so affected, may adjudge the act void, and may proceed to try and determine such suit as if no such act had been passed or signature given."

The *Tribune* continues:

"It may be objected that this would leave the entire enforcement of all our laws to so capricious a tribunal as a petit jury—whose verdict some irreverent but experienced lawyer has declared not even Omniscience could bet on with a fair chance of winning. But it must be remembered that the administration of justice depends on the verdicts of petit juries in any event; and the more important the question of fact involved

in the enforcement of any law, the more surely should there be some mode of trying it, and, if necessary, trying it again, until the truth is so apparent that nobody cares to risk the cost of any new or further trial.

"No principle can be more evidently just than that a law in the enactment of which bribery enters should be set aside. The ordinary laws against bribery are practically null. The party who pays the bribe, having got his act through, it is law, and nobody has any longer the power to contend with it. The payer and receiver of the bribe have a mutual interest in concealing their crime, and the parties defrauded by it are bound hand and foot by the fraudulent enactment. But make the law void, and the facts relative to the bribery liable to be tried in every court in the State, with no check except that the losing party shall pay the costs if he fails to prove that some vote or signature was bought or unduly influenced, and our future Legislatures would, in our judgment, be as free from the temptation of money as our courts of justice have hitherto been. The parties most careful not to use it would be those who wanted to secure the passage of the law."

Now we do not propose to go into any examination of the merits of this scheme in detail, for we imagine that most of our readers will agree with us that it is an impracticable one. To permit courts of justice to enter into the question of the motives of every legislator who voted for a bill would be to consume the whole time of judges in an investigation which would, in nine cases out of ten, lead to nothing. Anybody who wanted to delay a case for a year or two would only have to insist on trying this issue. By the time all the prominent journalists who had accused, and all the prominent lobbyists who were suspected, and all the "enemies of the bill" who knew that money had been paid for votes—before all these persons had been examined, and their evidence duly weighed by the jury, the poorer party to the suit would have been driven to such expense and trouble that he would be ready to submit to any compromise rather than go on. An old-fashioned chancery suit would be nothing to it.

All this and much more is so evident that we do not propose to discuss the merits of the scheme any further. But we mention it because it has one characteristic feature of all the plans we have noticed, and exhibits this feature in a plainer light than any other. The common trait to which we refer is that they all proceed on the assumption that legislative dishonesty can be rooted out by legislative enactment or constitutional provision. We do not believe that it can. We do not believe that either long sessions or short sessions, or limited or unlimited terms, restrictions on special legislation or fine or imprisonment, or even the thorough-going measures of the *Tribune*, will ever have the desired effect. So long as we continue to elect to office men of bad or doubtful character, so long shall we have dishonest bills passed. To treat men whom we elect to make laws for us as children, and to erect bars here and point out gates there, and warn them against pitfalls in this direction and point out stumbling-blocks in that other, would be all very well if we had the slightest control over them after their election. But we have not. They are free agents; and whether they receive with respect our warnings in the shape of constitutions and laws, or whether they laugh at them, depends on what sort of men they are, not on the stringency of the warning. There is this peculiarity about the crime of bribery, that, while in almost all other offences against society it is for the interest of some individual or his friends to expose the criminal—as, for example, in murder, robbery, arson, and the like—in the case of bribery it is for the interest of no one to produce the evidence. The ordinary motive to disclose the facts, therefore, cannot be relied on; and in the absence of this security, what have we to fall back upon but high official character? There is our true safety. When we have men in office whose honor is above suspicion, our laws against bribery will be found to be the most effective in the world; until that time comes, we may cover our statute-books all over with such laws, and to no purpose.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS FROM BRIDGET'S STANDPOINT.

THERE was one period in the domestic history of the Roman Empire which must have been full of humorous and odd situations, but of which, owing to the destruction of the files of great dailies, monthly magazines, and religious and other weekly newspapers by Alaric, who hated the press, not a trace has come down to us—we mean the period when manners, having become very luxurious, and social life splendid and complicated, British, Thracian, and German slaves fresh from the forest were constantly called upon to act as waiters, grooms, valets, cooks, and so

forth. It is useless to tell us that the newly caught savages were first used as field-hands, and tied up in the *ergastula* overnight, and that it was after long training that they were employed in menial duties, properly so called—if indeed the Roman-born slaves were not always reserved for this class of service. This was, no doubt, true of the great establishments; but there must have been plenty of Romans of moderate means who, when they wanted a cook or man-of-all-work, went to the market and bought a cheap newly imported barbarian; and, having taken him home, went through the agony of seeing him break their dishes and wine-jars, upset their lamps, and spoil their victuals. We know very well that many people feel warranted in supposing, on the strength of one passage in Juvenal, that, when things went wrong in this way, the master went out, dug a hole, set up a cross, and crucified the clumsy servant; but this can hardly have been a common practice. The vast majority of Romans bore with him as best they could; lashed him probably with moderation; and the mistress, when she went to the bath, told amusing stories to her friends of the queer things he had done, and of his ignorance of the usages of genteel Roman life. Now, what would we not give for a volume of these stories! Some of them must have been curious beyond imagination, because the contrasts they described must have been such as have never been seen in the modern world.

And yet we are probably now witnessing in the United States the last of a state of things not very far removed from it in grotesqueness and oddity. Since the fall of the Empire, nothing so closely resembling this one feature of domestic life in Rome has ever been witnessed as the efforts of Americans during the last thirty years to get their house-work done by European, and particularly Irish, immigrants. The classes in Europe which employ servants have ever since found or formed servants for their work amongst their own countrymen, possessing a certain familiarity with their ways, and prepared for household duties either by acquaintance with them from childhood or gradual training. It has fallen to the lot of the Americans to be forced suddenly to receive into their houses a great body of aliens, fresh from a mode of life not very much superior to that of the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus, and to trust to them for the performance, without any preparation, of the thousand small domestic duties on which so much human happiness depends. The result has been a body of comedy which, if preserved, would not only be one of the most amusing pieces of literature in existence, but would throw more light on American civilization and manners in our day than anything the celebrated coming historian will find to his hand. One hears every day perfectly well-authenticated anecdotes, which for comicality and illustrative and descriptive absurdity have never been surpassed, and which ought to be written down, but which thirty years hence will be forgotten. By that time, the typical Bridget of the magazines will have become a faint memory. The supply of her is already beginning to slacken, and she is getting old. Before long, she will be simply known as the mother of innumerable Maggies and Minnies, who will work sewing-machines and make watches and tend power-looms, read the *Ledger* and *Godey's Ladies' Book*, and be a good deal "out of health."

The Chinaman will by that time have taken her place, and, heathen and outlandish though he be, he will never be half as amusing as she has been, because though American ways may be very strange to him, he has in him something which Bridget has not, and which is the mainstay of Chinese civilization, and that is a highly developed imitative faculty. He can repeat, with extraordinary fidelity, what he has once seen done; and—though he may copy without intelligence, like the Californian Chinaman who, having been shown by his mistress how to make a pudding containing three eggs, but having seen her throw one bad egg away, continued for months after, whenever he made the pudding, to use four eggs, regularly breaking, examining, and throwing one away as he had seen her do—still, it will be found that a capacity for routine is perhaps, on the whole, far more valuable in a household than intelligence—if we have to choose between them. Untrained intelligence is apt for a good while to run into mere zeal, which in housekeeping, as in diplomacy, is a dreadful thing. Anyhow, the Chinaman is coming, and we venture to predict that he will in twenty years have totally superseded Bridget.

Like nearly all actual observers of social and political phenomena, we do not know or do not consider how interesting future generations will consider the household crisis through which we are now passing, and how eagerly they will pick up all scraps of information about the effect on American life of the great European emigration of the nineteenth century. To be sure, the subject has been greatly discussed in periodical literature, but the discussions have been too homiletic or reflective, and not

sufficiently narrative or anecdotal for the purposes of the future historian. We ought to have a printed collection of the incomparable stories now current in every circle of the extraordinary things Bridget has done, of the pretensions she has put forward, and the mistakes she has committed.

There is one of her difficulties which only few Americans understand, and which, nevertheless, must be understood, in order to judge her fairly. There is something almost pathetic in her attempts to grapple with it. It lies in the confusion in which she is involved by finding the standard she has been in the habit of using at home to ascertain the social position of her employer—and thus satisfy herself whether, when she changes her place, she has risen or fallen in the social scale—almost utterly useless on her arrival in America. The following advertisement, which appeared in the *Herald* a few days ago, is a very amusing illustration of the fog in which she gropes her way for a good while after landing, if not all her life:

WANTED—A SITUATION BY A WOMAN AS COOK IN A PRIVATE FAMILY; the family to be as high in society as a Lord's family is in Europe. Apply at No. 125 West Twenty-Fifth street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.

In Ireland, she has tolerably easy work in rating people. The land-owner—or, as she is in the habit of calling him, "the estates gentleman"—occupies, in her mind, as he does in that of the rest of the community, the highest place; if he is a "Lord," so much the better, but a "Lord" is, after all, only a superfine land-owner; the title is a mere ornament on an article in itself good and substantial. After the land-owner come the professional classes—barristers, doctors, and ministers of the Established Church—and she of course grades these, in some degree, by their wealth and connections, but still puts none of them down very low. With merchants of means she is not familiar; and has the old feudal or—what is still more intense—Celtic clansman's doubts whether a trader can ever be a gentleman. She grows up with the idea that this is the natural order of society, which was from the beginning and shall be to the end, and does not even dream of the existence of any other arrangement of classes. She arrives in America with her scale in her hand, and finds it utterly useless. The equivalent of the country gentleman she looks for in vain. She would probably put in his place an idle man drawing a large income from any source, but him she does not light upon, or sees only in very small numbers. On beginning her practical acquaintance, too, with American life, she finds that—no matter how fine the house in which she undertakes to cook, sweep, dust, or wash—the owner probably has "a store" to which he repairs daily, and in which he passes most of his waking hours at work. Now this fact, when she first grasps it, is more than "a painful revelation" to her. It absolutely disorders her faculties and destroys some of her best qualities. The horrible feeling takes possession of her that her master and mistress are not "a rare lady and gentleman," and, after a brief period of sauciness, she tries again—perhaps advertises for a "Lord," in order to make assurance doubly sure—and on finding that everybody either has "a store," or associates with people who have, she concludes that in the new country wealth is the only standard of respectability; and to wealth merely, apart from occupation or birth, she never brings herself to pay any respect, much less "petty allegiance."

In attempting to judge people by the standard of wealth, however, she again finds herself plunged in difficulties. She has certain notions about the manners peculiar to gentlemen of which she cannot rid herself, and which exercise a disturbing influence on her investigations. It is simple enough to divide families as she does—into "first-class," "second-class"—according to the kind of house they live in, and the number of servants and horses they keep; we have heard of her asking a lady at an intelligence office "whether she was a first-class family." But then, if the head of the family does not answer her ideal in respect to dress, bearing, and *exigence*, she is again plunged in doubt. The nature of her difficulty here is well illustrated by what she said the other day when giving warning to a lady, on the ground that her master was not a gentleman; her previous employer was a gentleman, she said, inasmuch as "he had three kinds of wine on his table, and swore." In fact, the mild-mannered, kindly American householder, who wears old clothes, runs errands for his wife and daughters, likes rather than eschews "chores," never rings the bell, and hates to give trouble, and does not mind blacking his boots on a pinch, and washes down his meals with ice-water, and speaks to Bridget as if he and she had gone to school together, is a being whom she never thoroughly understands, and is constantly disposed to regard as an impostor—a person living in a style he has no right to, and surrounded by luxuries he does not know how to enjoy. She will probably never understand the

society in which she lives; and the only definite conclusion she appears to have reached about her business in it is, that she ought to get all she can out of everybody she has dealings with, and wear silks.

Correspondence.

THE LOBBY AND LOBBYING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article on the "Existence of the Lobby," in the *Nation* of July 22, the term "lobby" is used in the sense that is implied when you speak also of the "professional lobbyist;" and it is assumed that your correspondent, in saying that "some kind of lobby will continue to be a necessity," means the same thing. No notice is taken of a distinction which is intimated by your correspondent in a sentence immediately following the passage which you quote, and closing the paragraph where it occurs, viz.: "Nothing has a stronger tendency to make lobbyists corrupt than to assume that every one who lobbies uses corrupt means."

It has been the way with certain papers here in Massachusetts of late to darken counsel by thundering by the wholesale against "lobbying;" and I have been hoping to see some competent discussion of the subject which should distinguish a little. One tires of that kind of discussion wherein, as Dr. Johnson ponderously says of the human memory, "particular features and discriminations are compressed and conglobated into one gross and general idea."

Much of what is generally known as "lobbying" is done by lawyers and others who are not of the professional lobby. This sort of lobbying may or may not be paid for. It is not, I believe, generally esteemed disreputable among persons who are practically acquainted with legislation. Such men as the late Governor Andrew, for example, engage in it. What sort of services are rendered in this kind of lobbying will be understood readily enough by any one who, from public or private reasons, may ever have felt the responsibility of securing the passage of an important measure to be resting upon his shoulders. It is enough for my present purpose to say that they are *not* the services of those hired squatters at the State House to whom—and to whom alone—you refer.

I happen to know that the distinction above referred to was in the mind of your former correspondent when he wrote the passage which you quote, and I think it is fairly suggested in the sentence which you omit to quote. Let me say, then, that you do him injustice, after your description of the professional lobby, in saying that "it is to men like these that our correspondent would have us believe members must go in order to obtain information." And let me also venture to ask your attention to your correspondent's text and to the general subject again. To the *Nation*, if anywhere, we must turn for a fair consideration of such a subject. X.

Boston, July 26, 1869.

[We think that any wrong there has been in the matter has been due to want of clearness on the part of the correspondent, as well as of the *Nation*, though we admit, on looking at his letter once more, that we have imputed to him a more general defence of the lobby than he can fairly be made answerable for. On the other hand, nobody can have supposed that, in talking of "the lobby" as an objectionable body, we meant to include in it such men as Governor Andrew, or others, who once in a while try to push important public measures by personal solicitation. The duty of noticing all exceptions and distinctions is doubtless binding on all writers; but it is only binding within the limits imposed by the patience of readers and the natural life and bodily endurance of editors. If nothing could ever be left to people's imagination or good sense, no periodical could possibly live a month. The existence of the professional lobby cannot be denied; and the theory that it is simply a band of impostors, who never accomplish anything for their clients, is one which few people have yet swallowed.—ED. NATION.]

THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY LECTURES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: From the announcement that "either course of the Harvard University lectures will suffice to occupy the whole time of the student," and that "examinations for honors will be held at the end of the year," it may be inferred that the courses are really to be regarded as forming the

basis of a system of post-graduate study, the cost of which is, indeed, not relatively higher than that of a single undergraduate year.

The number of people, however, who have at once inclination, time, and money to study quite out of the limits of the *Brodwissenschaften*, and can command a residence near, if not in, Cambridge for a year, and a freedom from other engagements three afternoons in the week, is, I fear, not large, and the funds of the University, we may suppose, will be largely drawn upon to eke out the salaries of the lecturers.

As a graduate of Harvard who would like to attend these lectures but for their "hard condition," I venture, therefore, the enquiry whether a much greater audience, larger receipts, and a more widespread and quickening influence might not be secured for our lecturers by some such expedients as lowering the price very considerably, holding the lectures in the evening, and admitting the two upper classes of the college at perhaps \$15 a course. As regards the last step, college men know how generally the evenings are given up to loafing, and how eagerly the chance to spend some of them in hearing Lowell, Child, Howells, and Emerson would be welcomed.

It seems certain, at any rate, that there are a great many men and women who would like to hear these lectures, especially those of the Modern Literature course, who are quite unable to pay \$150 for the privilege, and who do not care to pass a competitive examination at the end of the year. Is it not possible to provide, in some way, for this large class, without doing injustice to the few special students, and, at the same time, to increase, rather than diminish, the total receipts of the lectures?

CANTAB.

CAMBRIDGE, July 31, 1869.

GYMNASTICS AT DARTMOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Under the head of "Literary Notes" (No. 210), in commenting upon Dr. Allen's "Physical Culture in Amherst College," your critic is of opinion that exercise at College gymnasiums in this country "is voluntary in all other places than at Amherst."

Allow me to state that the students of Dartmouth enjoy the advantages of compulsory class-drill daily, in a gymnasium which is second to that of no other New England college; that these exercises take place at a fixed time, under a leader, and occupy half an hour; and that our instructor, though not a physician, "is not a boxer merely, or a fancy performer," but "a gentleman of culture" and "a college graduate." A JUNIOR.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, July 12, 1869.

Notes.

LITERARY.

DR. J. THOMAS, the editor of "Lippincott's Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World"—a work which has met with much deserved favor—has been employed by Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. to prepare a "Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology." The first five parts of it are announced as ready.—Messrs. Roberts Brothers have in preparation "The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition," by Dr. Hedge; a "Homiletical Commentary on the New Testament," by Dr. Joseph Parker, the author of "Ecce Deus;" the "Writings of Madame Swetchine," translated by Miss Laura Preston, the translator of the "Life of Madame Swetchine," with which volume this one is uniform; a narrative poem called "The Woman who Dared" (durst?), by Mr. Epes Sargent; "Thorwaldsen: his Life and Works," from the French of Eugene Plon, by Miss Luyster; "A Day by the Fire, and Other Papers," hitherto uncollected, by Leigh Hunt; "Little Mysteries and Little Plagues," by John Neal; "Letters Everywhere," which we suppose is a juvenile, and which has concealed letters in pictures and text, and several other juveniles, including one old one and one new one, by Miss L. M. Alcott, one illustrated by Oscar Pietsch, and some others, which it will be time enough to mention by-and-by.

—The projected republication of Mr. Samuel A. Goddard's (of Birmingham) letters on the rebellion, which we lately announced, is dependent, we learn, on a certain number of subscriptions from the author's countrymen. Ninety have already been obtained over here, and sixty more are required, and, we hope, will be forthcoming. Rev. Samuel May, jr., 27 Hollis Street, Boston, will be glad to receive them from any quarter, or subscribers in this city and vicinity may send their names to Mr. S. V. Haughwout, 490 Broadway. The price of the volume has been reduced to five dollars, payable on delivery. Mr. Goddard's services to the Amer.

ican cause were unremitting; and we may therefore expect from his writings, when brought together, an almost connected view of the course of events during the civil war. If not exactly history, we shall thus get at least contemporary illustration of history, that should be quite as instructive as formal narratives, with a better chance of being entertaining. In spite of our national partiality for the "American view" of foreign affairs, the American view of American affairs and American character from a foreign standpoint is much more worth considering; and to Mr. Goddard the compliment has been paid of having been "the most useful and intelligent American who has resided in England the last forty years."

—*Apropos* of the "American view of America," there is still another view from which we may derive benefit, and that is the one given us in the weekly issues of the London *Anglo-American Times*. This paper we take to be edited not by an American, but by a very thorough and generally well-informed friend of this country. From the start a readable journal, it has latterly, and apparently under a changed management, shown a peculiar ability, especially in extracting the pith of American discussions, and giving in a condensed form the substance of many long and wearisome articles. This practice proves a disciplined and cultivated mind on the part of the editor, and that he is not content to conduct his paper with scissors alone. He quotes, of course, liberally from the American press, as a main object of the paper is to keep Americans abroad informed of opinions and events at home; but even into the news items a good deal of original work is put, in the way of comment, explanation, or illustration. The *Anglo-American Times* watches closely the expressions of the English press on American affairs, and not unfrequently feels called upon to reply to them. In this way it gives its readers a just and pretty complete view of America as she appears to friends and unfriends in Great Britain, whose opinion, after all, is that for which we ought to care most of all the nations. That the *Anglo-American Times* never makes mistakes of judgment we do not say; nor that it never brings small things into undue prominence, to the neglect of greater; but in this it shares the liability to err of all foreign observers of any country, and these mistakes are seldom without instruction. Its tone is in full sympathy with the party of progress in this country; and this and its fair acquaintance with the American character and ideas make it capable of considerable usefulness wherever it is taken. It has just established an agency in this city, and those who may desire to subscribe for it or to advertise in it can do so by applying to Mr. J. A. Knight, 26 Pine Street. We do not anticipate for it an extended circulation on this side the water, but we have endeavored to show why sending it here is not exactly sending coals to New castle.

—The want of comic talent is certainly not the reason why we have to answer in the negative the often-asked question, "why we have no comic paper in America?" There are, indeed, few questions to which we might better apply an old recommendation to philosophic querists which directs them first to prove their facts. The truth appears to be that we have so many comic journals that none is the comic journal *par excellence*, like the English *Punch*, and the French *Charivari*, and the German *Kladderadatsch*. We have a thousand newspapers varying in humorous power from the *San Francisco Weekly News-Letter*—which is a class by itself, and beside which *Punch* seems, in point of general excellence, even feeble—down to the seven-by-nine sheet of the county town in the country, with its column of "spice," or "brevities," or "dashes here and there," or "odds and ends," which its patrons as regularly expect as they expect the news of the county court or the county cattle-show. Mr. Nasby, the *San Francisco "Town Crier,"* Mr. Mark Twain, Mr. Josh Billings, some of the men on the *World*, Mr. Leland, the jester of the *Boston Post*, the balladist of "Truthful James," some of the story-tellers of the "Editor's Drawer" of *Harper's*, to say nothing of the jokers who scintillate more or less feebly in the journals of the Union generally, would, if they could be got together in one corps, make a comic journal which it would be very hard to beat, and which would easily take away our seeming reproach. Our artists we should have to breed probably; though Mr. Bush, and Mr. Worth, and Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Nast, and Mr. Fay, especially the first-mentioned, offer us already some good material, and would no doubt offer us more if the demand for their work were steady, and their powers were focussed, as the Harpers—say—with the publishing ability that they possess, and the editorial ability that they always know how to secure, might very probably be able to focus them. Hitherto publishers and an editor, and especially publishers, seem to have been the great want of the American comic paper which has at various times made an attempt at existence. We say

that publishers in especial have been lacking, because it has always seemed that with sufficient purchasing capacity the chief difficulty could be overcome; a very large public is ready and avid, artists are obtainable, there is plenty of humorous talent in the country, but the money to monopolize Billings, and buy all Mr. John Paul's puns, and to take Mr. Nasby out of his *Toledo Blade*, has never been forthcoming. Great things have had feeble beginnings sometimes, and the little periodical which lies before us, and has suggested these remarks—Mr. G. W. Carleton's *Kaleidoscope*—may form the foundation of a journal of world-wide fame. Such a future is, however, only very slightly indicated by this first number. The *Kaleidoscope* is a small illustrated magazine of thirty-two pages, which is to be issued "once in a while," and is to be edited by Mr. Roderic Triplex, Mr. Roger Triplex, and Mr. Robert Triplex—gentlemen whose real names are as unfamiliar, we should suppose, as their assumed ones are likely to remain, so far as celebrity is gained by successful humorous writing. What we have given us here is anything but good. There is a little flavor of the "Bohemianism" of the old *Vanity Fair*; and there is a little smack of the "Harry Franco" or "Salmagundi" kind; and there is a letter from "Ralph Retina," who has come to New York from the town of Zenobia ("formerly Mosquito Hollow"), by way of Pegwacket, and who writes to his mother about the politeness of New York hackmen and shoddy, and the billiard-playing and drinking of the pale-faced young men, and all the rest of it, in the manner of the "Ethan Spikes" who used to be in fashion so many years ago, and whose pale ghosts seem even drearier than did the veritable beings themselves. The illustrations are rather better than the text, and seem to show here and there a trace of Mr. H. L. Stephens, but they are all very slight. We wish it might attract to itself some of the many men capable of making it entertaining; but unless the *Kaleidoscope* should thus become a nucleus for other wit than its own, we fear that few will care how intermittent it shall be in its appearances.

—Soon after the movement was inaugurated for raising a general fund for Harvard College, we received a letter from a graduate of high standing and character, complaining that on one, at least, of the class committees to collect subscriptions men had been placed who in college made a practice of cheating their instructors—at recitations, examinations, and in other ways. On this account, the writer went on to say, he could not contribute to the quota of his class, for fear lest his gift should never reach its destination. This reasoning, however, was open to the objection of being a good deal too logical, and if it were sound there should be far fewer honest and upright citizens than we do actually recognize. The maxim that all's fair in war has only to be applied to the relation of schoolmaster and pupil, as viewed by the latter, to account for the petty immorality—to give it that name—which all schools develop, and which may or may not survive the period of discipline and the arrival at years of discretion. That much of it is due to false modes of discipline and of teaching there cannot be a shadow of doubt; and this aspect of the question has been discussed with great practical ability by Miss Mary R. Goodridge, a teacher in the High School at Plymouth, Massachusetts, who recently read a paper on the effects of the marking system before a county association of teachers. This paper has been reprinted in the *Massachusetts Teacher* for August, and we can say of it that it is the best piece of writing on educational topics we have ever seen from the pen of an American schoolmistress. We reproduce a paragraph which arrested our attention, both because it re-echoed the apprehensions of our Harvard graduate, and because it is something new for a schoolmistress to take any more thought of the political bearing of her vocation than the committeeman takes when he admonishes each boy that he may one day become President. Miss Goodridge remarks:

"I know some say that school dishonesty is a very small matter—pertaining to school and its temptations only—and does not affect the outside life at all. I know the same boys who talk freely together of the various methods of cheating they use in school will not tolerate for an instant any such practice in their games, and the boy is disgraced among them who attempts it. But it seems to me, if under any circumstances they should be exposed to other petty but frequent temptations, they might find the resumption of the school-conscience dangerously easy and convenient. I have been told that a boy may cheat his way through the schools, and in college reduce the practice to a science and a fine art, and come out a perfectly honest man at last, with whom you might trust untold gold. Untold gold, perhaps—that may be quite possible; but what will be the effect of this habit of so many years if he chooses politics as his sphere?"

—The Convention of Philologists which has just met at Poughkeepsie will be memorable as the first successful attempt to excite among linguistic students something of the same spirit of community and active co-operation which exists among scientific men. It is very much to the credit of

those gentlemen who started the movement and carried it through that it has maintained a liberal as well as earnest character; we owe it to them that American scholars have taken a long step towards knowing one another better, and understanding better the needs of American scholarship. The friends of the movement have felt from the first the importance of having it controlled by the best men, and in the interests of the highest scholarship; and the convention showed throughout the best spirit and temper. If, after all, it turned out in any degree to be the case that second-rate men obtained the care of the convention and leading places in its counsels, it was not the fault of the convention, but of those scholars of eminence who unfortunately stayed away. For the absence of these men was painfully evident. There were hardly half-a-dozen present who can fairly be considered as standing in the front rank as *philologists*. Neither Harvard, Cornell, Michigan, Rochester, nor Washington Universities; neither Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Union, Columbia, nor Princeton Colleges were represented. Had not Yale been alive to the importance of the occasion, and been present in the persons of her most distinguished scholars, it is much to be feared that the convention would have fallen under the management of small men. It could not be otherwise, therefore, than that persons of an inferior grade, whether of ability or reputation, should take a more prominent place in the convention than fairly belonged to them. Prof. Hadley gave the convention nothing at all; Dr. Taylor and Prof. Whitney very little, though that was of the best quality. But it was noticeable that the papers read were largely by persons who are not widely known in the community—it is fair to add that several of these papers won for their authors a reputation as well deserving to be known. Some, however, were of very little merit; most of the members of the association must have rejoiced in that article of the constitution which requires all future papers to be submitted to the Executive Committee. The need of such a provision was only too evident on one evening, when a paper in defence of classical studies wearied the audience for nearly an hour and a half of very rapid reading with its verbosity and fallacies. Indeed, this interminable paper had no business in the convention at all. But some papers of real merit were read—those, for example, which treated of the proper pronunciation of Greek and Latin. And it was well done to advise, as Professor Whitney's committee did, the adoption in our schools of the Continental sounds of the vowels in the pronunciation of both Greek and Latin, and the observance of the written accent in pronouncing Greek. On the whole, a good beginning has been made. An association has been formed, with the most eminent American philologist at its head; and this affords as good an opportunity as our philologists need have for combined action and free interchange of thought. Some important considerations for all interested in the work of the convention we propose to take up very soon, at greater length than is here possible.

—The "First Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science," in Salem, Mass., is a pamphlet which relates the nature and circumstances of this important foundation from the beginning, and the steps taken in the past two years to carry out the wishes of the beneficent founder. Passing over the wise arrangements, happily effected, for securing at once the substantial nucleus of a great museum by joining the valuable collections of the East India Marine Society and the Essex Institute, we shall confine ourselves to the Academy's proposed plan of operations. This embraces the following objects: 1st, To give courses of lectures to the Normal School, to teachers, select classes of students, and persons interested in science; to distribute collections, properly labelled and mounted, to schools, as aids in illustrating text-books and lectures; and to provide special students, eager to study science, with the means of doing so without cost of tuition. 2d, To diffuse scientific knowledge by public lectures both within and without the Academy, and by means of catalogues prepared as a sort of text-books for each department of the Museum, and sold at a very low price; to encourage the formation of scientific associations, by giving them collections, etc., towards their outfit; to serve as an inexpensive medium for the supply of investigators, in all parts of the country and in Europe, with the materials for their studies, by purchase or by exchange; and to encourage any county scientific publication that may deserve it. 3d, To inaugurate a systematic survey of the county, and to publish a series of communications on special subjects, carefully assigned to the officers and students of the Academy, under the title of "Annals of the Scientific Survey of Essex County"—a work, says the Council, whose "prospective value may be partially estimated by the fact that comparatively little is known of the natural resources of any county in the State." 4th, To illustrate to the

fullest extent in the Museum the natural and physical history of the county, but to make the general collection serve an educational purpose by confining it to "series of typical species," and thus ridding the cases of superfluous specimens, which may as well be stored out of sight. 5th, To establish a scientific library. 6th, To give freely or in exchange to institutions and individuals in the interior "typical collections of native products, especially the marine animals and plants." The attention here bestowed on Essex County is in accordance with Mr. Peabody's design and with the consolidation already referred to. So far from detracting from the usefulness of the Academy, it will probably increase it, by compelling the thorough investigation of a narrow field, and by fostering a scientific spirit in the people of the district that cannot fail to be diffused in time and to be felt all over the country. The Academy should therefore be regarded as truly a national institution as the universities, and the reading of the report will remind liberal givers that Mr. Peabody's bequest, munificent as it was, can be helpfully supplemented by other donations.

—Mr. Francis Peabody, the first named of the Academy's trustees, and who died shortly after accepting the office, was one of the founders, nearly forty years ago, of the Salem Lyceum, to which and to one or two others instituted about the same time the lyceum system of to-day owes its origin. The subjects of the first course are curious reading now: "The Advantages of Knowledge; Authenticity of Ancient Manuscripts; Steam Engine (by Col. Peabody); Physiology; Geology; Optics; Nervous System; Astronomy; A Workingman's Party (by Edward Everett); Public Education, with a sketch of the origin of public schools in Salem; Human Mind; Respiration; Circulation of Blood; Digestion." The fact that this sensible procedure has been pretty much abandoned, induces us to quote here the excellent observations of the Executive Committee in the report just mentioned:

"It may be remarked," say they, "that lectures affording solid instruction, in an agreeable and interesting way, are much needed in this community. The persons who for the most part supply the popular lecture platform are either professional lecturers, given to sensational, declamatory fine writing, gentlemen of some general reputation obtained in other fields, or the advocates of some particular hobby or reform. Lectures are given and attended, not for instruction and improvement, but to gratify curiosity or to afford amusement and excitement to audiences. The result is that the lecture now seldom instructs. Aiming at other ends, the modest rewards of the scholar and man of science are no longer the measure of payment, and prices have risen to an exorbitant rate. Lecturers swell their incomes by a winter's tour at one or two hundred dollars a night. They are paid as opera-singers are paid. The lecture platform is thus forced to pay a heavy tribute, and in the smaller towns and communities the performance is beyond the reach of the people. It would be idle, even if it were desirable, to attempt a change in this condition of things, or to enter into a crusade against the present system; but it would seem that much might be done in this county by an institution like this, co-operating with local societies, to furnish that which the lyceums no longer supply."

—Our American lecture system being such as it is—namely, a system of bringing the people face to face with men and women whom they are curious to see, and of calling together in a social way communities not sufficiently amused, and hardly knowing how to amuse themselves—it might be supposed that the local committees of young men would be capable of getting their lecturers without advice and assistance from others. It is not as if the business before them were like that which the management of a similar English committee has on its hands—the business of selecting some speaker capable of giving instruction to a comparatively unintelligent audience on some definite and practical topic. The American course, which "judiciously combines instruction with entertainment," is apt to combine its instruction with its entertainment very judiciously indeed, the young people think, and gives a good deal more of Miss Dickinson and Mr. Gough than of Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins. But, nevertheless, the young men's committees away from the great centres find the need of accurate information as to the standing and qualifications of lecturers, both new and old, as to their terms, their addresses, and a dozen such matters, and the American Literary Bureau undertakes to act—gratuitously—as an intermediary between the associations and the lecturers. Of the latter, it now has some seventy on its list. Its founder was, we believe, Mr. J. K. Medbery—a gentleman known to the readers of the *North American Review* as the writer of a vigorous exposure of the New Jersey Railroad ring. Recently he has received as an associate in the management Mr. S. Humphreys Gurteen, a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, whose taste and judgment will, no doubt, be of service to the patrons of the Bureau in the matter of advising as to the choice of lecturers, and more especially in a branch of business which the managers talk of carrying on, and which consists in the examination of manuscripts for the press, the finding of articles for

such as need them, and of publishers for such as have articles and other writings to sell. Writers who wish to be informed as to the aims of the Bureau will do well to send for circulars. The one which we have before us gives us, we may remark, no information on two important points—namely, what charges the Bureau makes for giving to authors information as to the details of publishing, and, secondly, whether or not it has ever actually been of service to authors in the disposal of their writings; of our own knowledge, we can tell our readers nothing as to either of these points.

—Better news to the lovers of English literature has not come for many a day than is contained in a circular which we have received from the Rev. Mr. A. B. Grosart, of 15 St. Alban's Place, Blackburn, Lancashire, England, whose address we give in full, that some of the American book-lovers whom he desires to oblige may be able to communicate with him. His circular describes a library of the rarest works of the Elizabethan age, and the age immediately succeeding, which Mr. Grosart, out of love for them and for no remuneration, is reprinting, under the name of the "Fuller Worthies Library," and of which six volumes, at low prices, have already appeared. The prices may indeed be called low. For example: the Bodleian contains a copy, believed unique, of Joseph Fletcher's "Historie of the Perfect-Cursed-Blessed Man. Setting forth Man's Excellency by his Generation; his Miseries by his Degeneration, and his Felicitie by his Regeneration;" and the only sales of it that are noted in the bibliographies put the price at £23 2s., £16, and £15, while the same author's "Christ's Bloodie Sweat" would, if put into the market, bring an equal sum. Mr. Grosart proposes to publish, in a one-volume edition, 106 octavo or large-paper copies of these works, and 156 duodecimo or small-paper copies, and for the prices respectively of 10s. 6d. and 7s. 8d. He has chosen the octavo and quarto sizes for his library as being, on the whole, most convenient, and as being the sizes of the vast majority of the volumes which contain vital literature. To go back a moment to the matter of cost: the smallness of the edition that will be published (always 106 and 156 as above-mentioned), the known destination of each copy, and the fact that the copies will not be issued through the ordinary bookselling channels, will cause the library to increase steadily in price, and the money invested in it will really be money drawing a good rate of interest. The editor remarks of these works of Joseph Fletcher's, that he would not have any one suppose that it is merely because of their antiquarian value that he intends including them in his collection; he rigidly excludes such authors as are not valuable in virtue of their matter, and "Fletcher's Poems" seem to him "marked by striking originality and penetrativeness of thought, vigor and resonance of versification, ingenious and unexpected rhymes, and not a few gleams of 'the faculty divine' that remind us of knowledge of them by Milton and other poets: e. g., Thomas Fuller's puns and playing on words are anticipated." He continues: "Homely but powerful, discursive and yet concentrated, leading the way, yet nevertheless finished and racy English, it seems a pity that these two poems should not have their place in the not over-large collection of English sacred poetry." A judgment to which, not knowing his author, we do not agree and from which we do not dissent, satisfying ourselves by saying that Mr. Grosart writes a sort of English that shows him to be an enthusiastic student in his favorite field; is often happily forcible in phrase—something as "an Elizabethan born out of due season," and when he talks as a critic concerning authors of whom we know something, we find ourselves in agreement with him. The other works in his list are these: "Thomas Fuller's Poems," complete for the first time; Dr. Thomas Washbourne's "Divine Poems," complete; "Giles Fletcher's Poems," complete for the first time; "Phineas Fletcher's Poems," complete for the first time and in 4 volumes; "Joseph Fletcher's Poems," as above-mentioned; "Sir John Davies's Poems," complete for the first time, and, though hitherto sold at fabulous prices, now offered at 25s. for the large-paper, the price having been raised, and at 12s. 8d. for the duodecimo; the "Complete Works of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist," in 2 vols. of verse and 2 vols. of prose; the "Complete Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke," in 3 vols. of verse and 1 vol. of prose; "Sir John Beaumont's Poems," complete; "Selections from the Unpublished Writings of Jonathan Edwards, of America, with facsimiles;" a reprint of the edition of 1692 of Baxter's "Grand Question Resolved—What must we do to be Saved? Instructions for a Holy Life, by the late Reverend Divine, Richard Baxter;" an "Annotated List of the Writings of Richard Baxter;" "Palmer-Bacon: Lord Bacon not the author of 'The Christian Paradoxes,' being a reprint of 'Memorials of Godliness,' by Herbert Palmer, B.D., with introduction, notes, and appendix;" and, finally, "Who Wrote Brittain's Ida?" (generally assigned to Spencer but assigned by Mr.

Grosart to Phineas Fletcher), which is a pamphlet, by Mr. Grosart we assume, which may be had for 2s. 6d. We do not make out clearly whether a person is held to be "a subscriber" in case he orders any number of volumes less than all; "non-subscribers" must pay for each volume an additional sum, varying, for the duodecimos, from one shilling more (as is much the most common) to five shillings, as in the case of the first volume of Phineas Fletcher. But any one can get a circular, and can at the same time have this question answered. Crashaw, Cowley, Donne, Marvell, Samuel Speed, Giles Fletcher, sr., will probably follow the poets above-mentioned, and, if all goes well, we shall ultimately get Quarles, Wither, Drayton, Daniel, and others.

—A literary character, very well known—once better known than latterly—Mr. William Jerdan, has just died in London, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was a Scotchman of the middle class; was educated for the law; but, like many a Scot before and since his day, he went up to London to push his fortunes in literature, and at the age of twenty-four became a reporter on the *Aurora*, which, dying, he transferred himself to the *Pilot*, and afterwards to other papers. His "Autobiography," published some seventeen years ago, contains a full account of his struggles and labors and of his final success. This work and his "Men I Have Known," published two years ago, are what will keep his name longest alive. Mr. Jerdan, what with his active political life and his literary position as a literary journalist, and his agreeable social qualities, was known to nearly everybody in London, and he had what may be called a peculiarly Scottish weakness—a fondness for collecting and relating personal anecdotes. So his reminiscences are very interesting, and worth the attention of the lovers of informal history. To say nothing of numerous other journals with which he was connected at one time or another—literary journals, political, comic, satirical—he was for thirty-five years an editor and part proprietor of the *Literary Gazette*, a forerunner—not of their excellence, however—of the *Spectator* and *Saturday Review*, or rather of the literary *Athenæum*, which latter journal it more nearly resembled both in character and calibre. Besides the works already mentioned, Mr. Jerdan was the author of four volumes of the "Memoirs for Fisher's National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century," of the "Paris Spectator," and of a "Voyage to the Isle of Elba"—works pretty much forgotten, and likely to remain so. He edited two of the volumes of the "Camden Society," assisted in founding the Royal Society of Literature, contributed to the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, as well as to countless magazines and annuals. On the whole, he was a very busy man, kind-hearted, and, like most members of the press—at least of the press of the first half of this century, a period when reporters and editors occupied a position not unlike that which actors occupied, and when, being without recognized position, they clung together all the more closely—he never grudged his assistance to others of his profession, but aided many in their struggles for honors and independence. He has a small niche in the back closets of history as being one of those who seized John Bellingham when that unfortunate man had shot Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons. Mr. Jerdan was pensioned in 1852, and a testimonial was presented to him by many men of eminence in politics and literature, as a public acknowledgment of their recognition of his services to literature, science, and the fine and useful arts.

—Lady Duff Gordon, a versatile, fertile, and entertaining writer, whose later works have made her name widely known in this country as well as in England, has just died of consumption at her place in Egypt, whither, indeed, she had gone to die—or rather to prolong as much as possible a disease which she knew would end in death. She was connected through her mother, Mrs. Austin, with William Taylor of Norwich, whose name is of such frequent recurrence in the literary history of the early part of this century and the latter part of the last, and who is still remembered as the introducer into England of the taste for German literature, and the translator of much German poetry, and also as the open advocate, during Tory supremacy, of liberal principles in government and freer thinking in religion. He was a man of strong and active mind. Lady Gordon's mother, Mrs. Sarah Austin, continued the work begun by William Taylor and Thomas Carlyle, and distinguished herself very much as a translator into idiomatic, flowing English of some important German works. Some of our readers will recollect as hers the English version of the amusing travels of Prince Pückler Muskau—a German nobleman who visited England about forty years ago, and gave his views of society with a frankness that his readers find commendable; and more of our readers may know Mrs. Austin as the translator of the charming "Story Without an End." Lady Gordon's father was the well-known jurist, John Austin.

She married Sir Alexander Duff Gordon. She has followed in her mother's footsteps as a translator, though, perhaps, not with equal success; her mother being acknowledged as on the whole the best of the English translators of the century, if we exclude from consideration some felicitous scraps of work by men like Shelley. Lady Gordon, however, is better known and better liked for her travels, which are always bright and entertaining, and contain on every page proofs of the author's good heart as well as the active and penetrating mind which belonged to her in virtue of her paternal and maternal ancestry. A list of her works includes a translation of Niebuhr's "Greek Legends," which was done while she was still a girl; "The French in Algiers," a translated abridgment of Feuerbach's "Criminal Trials;" translations of Ranke's "History of Prussia" and "Ferdinand and Maximilian;" of Léon de Wailly's "Stella and Vanessa;" of the Countess d'Arbouville's "Village Doctor" and von Moltke's "Russian Campaigns on the Danube" (1829-30). Better than these is the story of "The Amber Witch," which most readers of twenty years ago will remember for the vividness of the strange, pathetic scenes which it describes, and which we suppose must have been a translation, though we are not sure, and have not the book at hand to inform us; and better, too, than these are the "Letters from the Cape" and the "Letters from Egypt," which are wholly original and, as we have said, wholly good. The Egyptians among whom Lady Gordon's lot was cast in her last years looked up to her with great affection and unbounded respect. Doctors of Mohammedan divinity are said to have admitted the likelihood of her being saved at last; the peasantry believed in her as incarnate kindness and justice and knowledge; and the officials stood in awe of her. Her loss will be regretted wherever her books have been read; but among her friends in Egypt the sorrow for her loss will be sincere and deep. She must have been not far from forty years old.

—Excepting the drama of "Sakuntala," no work of the ancient Hindu literature has received as much attention or called forth as much admiration as the Bhagavad-Gita. Scholars especially of a mystico-metaphysical turn of mind have been quite carried away by what seemed to them its profound and subtle speculations, and the high tone of its morality. It is most accessible to English readers in an edition published by Mr. J. C. Thomson about a dozen years ago, with a translation, copious notes, and an elaborate preliminary dissertation—the version of Wilkins, which Mr. George P. Philes was recently at the trouble of reprinting in this country, being quite antiquated and of inferior authority. A Dr. Lorinser, not otherwise known as a Sanscrit scholar, has just put forth a new German translation, of which the two noteworthy features are, that it imitates closely the metrical form of its original, and that its notes and accompanying dissertations attempt to prove the Hindu poet to have borrowed many of his ideas and expressions from Christianity and the New Testament. Such a theory, which would have been met with derision twenty years ago, now demands and will receive at least a respectful hearing, since the belief in the immemorial antiquity and pure originality of the classical Sanskrit literature has been severely shaken by attacks on many sides; and Weber has drawn out with great fulness the special evidences of an importation of Christian ideas into the legends and worship of Krishna—the divinity into whose mouth the exalted teachings of the "Bhagavad-Gita" are put. We have not looked into the details of Dr. Lorinser's proofs closely enough to judge them critically; but we are confident that he has been to some extent at least run away with by his theory. His columns of parallel passages from the Gita and the Testament, given in his appendix, are to us anything but convincing; the coincidences of thought and word are of a kind themselves to need considerable support from without in order to seem otherwise than merely accidental. The new tendency to trace Indian ideas to foreign sources is liable to exaggeration, no doubt; but a considerable infusion of a sceptical and iconoclastic spirit into the treatment of Hindu philosophy will do no harm. We are yet far enough from understanding the history and rightly estimating the merits of that very imposing but somewhat oddly constructed and unstable system. The title of the work is "Die Bhagavad-Gita: übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. F. Lorinser."

WOMAN FROM A CONSERVATIVE STANDPOINT.*

"THE FAMILY" is the last of a series of three volumes in which Professor Riehl endeavors to construct a system of social and political science upon the basis of what he calls "The Natural History of the People." Of the first two volumes—which are entitled respectively "Land and People" and "Civil Society"—we shall not here speak, but shall con-

sine ourselves to a discussion of the topics treated in the third volume, which is divided into two books—"Man and Woman," "House and Family." In the heading of the first chapter, Riehl boldly asserts "Social Inequality as a Law of Nature." If human beings were sexless, then we might dream of them as everywhere free and equal; but, by the very act of creating man and woman, God has made inequality and dependence the fundamental conditions of all human development. It is the most daring and defiant thought of modern radicalism to denounce as one of the remaining results of barbarism—as a vestige of the régime of brute force which once ruled the world—this relation of the sexes, which is enjoined by nature, unfolded and enforced by the customs and traditions of ages, and engraved upon the brazen tables of universal legislation.

Some socialistic philosophers (and among them the younger school of Hegelians) lay particular stress upon the theory that, by the fall, Adam first became human, and that, before the commission of sin had awakened him to self-consciousness, he had been little more than a tame brute wandering about in Paradise like a gorilla in a zoological garden. By transgression he was humanized, the family was instituted, and organized society and civil government became possible. Riehl regards it as a significant fact that just at this point of transition of animal into man, this "*Menschenwerden*," out of which all the various forms of social and political life have been developed, woman's subordination was decreed by Jehovah: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." To the man it was said: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Each decree was alike prophetic and of perpetual validity; each was uttered in the form of a curse—a *divine* curse, whose secret fruit is blessing. The mystic philosopher, Jacob Boehme, whose sedentary life as a shoemaker seems to have given a peculiar original stimulus to his reflective faculties, puts a new and profound meaning, says Riehl, into the Hebrew myth when he affirms that our first progenitor, Adam, was both "man and woman, and yet neither man nor woman." Plato expresses a similar thought. According to Riehl, this notion is not a mere empty fancy, but rather the legendary reflection of a great historical fact, namely, "the obscuration of the antithesis of sex among all primitive peoples." The old tales about Amazons symbolize the same thing; and in Dahomey we find in reality such a state of society, where one-half of the army consists of women who are not permitted to marry. In these and many other facts of a like kind, our author discovers a general law of the differentiation of sex as a result of culture, or, to use his own language, "*die Scheidung der Geschlechter im Prozesse des Culturlebens*." This is observable in works of art. The experience of every one, in looking for the first time at portraits of women famous for their beauty several centuries ago, is a feeling of surprise at the bold, strongly-defined lineaments and features, which seem too hard and masculine for our ideal of female beauty. The portraits of Mary Stuart, the fair Queen of Scots, always produce this effect upon the eye of the nineteenth century, and he who expects that her face will impress him as it did her contemporaries will be inevitably disappointed. The same is true of the heads of angels and saints in mediæval paintings and the Madonnas of Van Eyck and Hemmeling. The Holy Virgin appears to be at least thirty-five or forty years of age, and even the child on her lap has a very mature look. Although this result may be due in part to the antiquated stiffness of the costume, yet, as regards the lines of the face, the artist followed nature; but since then nature has changed. The delicate maiden had, three centuries ago, a more masculine physiognomy than now; and in the lowest classes of society this characteristic is still preserved. The face of a peasant woman is hardly distinguishable from that of a peasant man; and this resemblance increases with age, until, in threescore years, they become as like as two eggs. There is also a striking similarity in height. The short, slender woman by the side of the tall, large-boned man is a product of progressive and hereditary culture, and is very rarely found among the inferior classes of the people. In ruder stages of semi-civilization, this was true likewise of the highest circles of life. We see a recognition of this fact in Schnorr's or Kaulbach's illustrations of the Nibelungen, where Kriemhild and Brunhild are almost equal in heroic stature and stateliness to Siegfried and Hagen; and at the present day, among the peasantry of the North German Marches, grenadier-like women, as tall and strong as the men, are the general rule; whereas, in our cities, they would be looked upon as very conspicuous exceptions. The same gradual differentiation of the sexes as the result of culture is manifest in the tone or *timbre* of the voice, which among rude tribes or uncultivated classes of society is nearly of a uniform quality, and almost on the same key. The man's voice is a tenor and the woman's an alto; but, with the progress of civilization, the former sinks into a deep base

* "Die Familie. Von W. H. Riehl." Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag. Pp. 292.

and the latter rises into a soprano. These changes of *timbre* of the voice have revolutionized music, broken up its original monotony, increased its heterogeneity, evolved complex harmony out of simple melody, developed the chant into the oratorio, the recitative of the ballad into the fugue of the serenata, the solo into the symphony, and rendered the grand opera, with its wealth of vocal and orchestral combinations, possible. It is a significant fact that European theatres are obliged to depend upon Hungary, Galicia, and other borderlands of civilization for their high, clear tenors; and our modern culture has so effectually eradicated the deep contralto voice of the woman that musical composers have almost ceased to write for it. This divergence of the sexes is seen also in their respective costumes. The dress of the peasant and that of his wife are scarcely distinguishable in cut or color, whatever name may be applied to it—blouse, kirtle, tunic, or petticoat—it is essentially the same garb. The Tyrolean woman is an unconscious bloomer, with man's hat, short skirt, and high lace-boots. With the increase of culture and refinement, each sex assumes a more and more distinctive costume, until it is difficult to conceive a more striking contrast than that which now exists between a gentlemen's scanty dress-coat and tight pantaloons and the long, full, trailing robes of a fashionable lady. This antithesis extends also to color; the woman decks herself in all the tints and hues of the rainbow, while the man has become sober, subdued, dark, or at least monochromatic in his raiment.

Among the poorer peasantry there is no strict division of labor according to sex. Man and woman do precisely the same things. Indeed, so perfect is the identity of their occupations that it often seems to us an absurd exchange of work. The man frequently boils the porridge for dinner whilst the woman is chopping wood or working in the garden; and it is by no means uncommon to see a shepherd knitting stockings as he watches his flock whilst his wife is reaping grain or following the plow. What each one shall do at a given moment is determined by accident rather than by any sense of the fitness of the occupation for the person, such as governs the assignment of employments in the higher ranks of life. It is curious to observe how the highest idealism of Plato's state coincides with this crude realism of peasant life; for in the Republic the women have no peculiarly feminine kinds of labor, but perform the same work as men, even to becoming soldiers. In the latter case, however, the Greek philosopher, having no great confidence in their valor, recommends that these Amazonian forces should be kept in the rear as a reserve—or, rather, as an *arrière-garde*—which might at least serve to terrify the enemy by their numbers. As a result of this homogeneity of character and of occupations, the domestic life of the peasant is exceedingly monotonous; his conjugal love has its source in convenience, or at most in mere friendship; there is not the slightest touch of the chivalry of minne-service in it; the imagination of the novelist may clothe it with idyllic colors, but the peasant himself has no consciousness of this poetic side of his existence. The only pastoral aroma which he appreciates is that which arises from the neat dung-heap at his front door.

Such are a few of the facts from which Professor Riehl attempts to build an argument against the modern theory of woman's rights. The inevitable tendency of civilization is to separate the sexes, and to cause man and woman to diverge as they develop their inborn peculiarities. Here, as everywhere, the law of evolution is from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Not only physiology and physiognomy, but also pathology, furnish illustrations of this principle. The morbid idiosyncrasies of women, the large group of diseases scientifically classified as "female," scarcely exist in rude states of society or among the lower classes of the people. It must be remembered, however, that by the term "lower classes of the people" is meant not the poor and ignorant proletariat of our large cities, but classes which are hereditarily "low," like the peasantry of Europe, and which in this country can have no existence. Looking at the subject from the high standpoint of history, our author comes to the conclusion that the effort to reform society, so far as it affects the social, political, and industrial position of woman, indicates not an advance towards a more perfect civilization, but a relapse into barbarism. His argument is original and ingenious, and rests upon a very wide range of observation and study; but at the same time his reasoning is illogical and his inferences incorrect. His chief fallacy consists in a misconception of the real aims of those who plead for woman's rights. His statement of the tendency of culture to develop the antithesis of sex, and to strengthen the masculine qualities in man and the feminine qualities in woman, is unquestionably true. Yet the corollary to this proposition is not that the existence of woman should be merged entirely in that of man (which is in law equivalent to

annihilation), but that, on the contrary, she should have a fuller and freer individual life; an opportunity to work according to the measure of her faculties, not in subjection as the serf of another, but in independence as an intelligent personality. The soundest portions of Professor Riehl's book are those chapters in which he emphasizes the fact of sex and the influence which this fact exerts as an irrepressible force in human society. Book II., which is entitled "House and Family," we have not space to discuss here. It consists of six chapters: "The Idea of the Family," "The Whole House," "The Family and Domestic Architecture," "Renunciation and Recognition of the House," "The Family and the Social Circle," and "The Reconstruction of the House." They are all full of suggestive thought and contain much information as regards German life, which could hardly fail to interest even those who have no sympathy with the deeply dyed conservatism of the author. An English translation of this volume, with annotations by a competent person, would be a welcome aid to those who are sincerely endeavoring to solve one of the knottiest problems of the day.

PROFESSOR JOEL PARKER ON POLITICS.*

THE political pamphlet, as a means of instructing and directing public opinion, has long been in common use in England, but has never been completely naturalized in the United States. It might be well for us if to the newspapers and the speeches of Senators and Representatives in Congress could be more frequently added the careful and thorough discussions of public questions by men who have made law and politics a scientific study rather than a trade or profession, who have been the calm observers of political contests rather than active combatants in party strifes. Still, it cannot be hoped that, in the hurry of American life, such essays will make any deep, direct impression upon the common thought and opinion. The day has passed in which the letters of a Hamilton and a Madison could change the destinies of the nation.

The pamphlet before us belongs to the general class we have mentioned, and the reputation of its author as a jurist will secure for it a somewhat careful examination. Professor Parker was for many years, during the ascendancy of the Democratic party in New Hampshire, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that State. He was subsequently transferred to a chair in the Harvard Law School, which he continued to occupy until some time in the year 1868. After his resignation, he was appointed to deliver lectures upon constitutional law and civil polity in Dartmouth College. Three lectures, originally given in the Law School, and repeated during the present year in Dartmouth, Professor Parker has now submitted to the wider audience which is reached by the press. They treat of questions which lie at the bottom of our whole political system; which are involved in the very theory of our government; and whose correct solution is perhaps even more necessary at the present time than ever before in American history. They are respectively entitled "The Three Powers of Government," "The Origin of the United States, and the Status of the Southern States on the Suppression of the Rebellion," and "Three Dangers of the Republic."

The first lecture is devoted to a discussion of the proposition that, in order to the security of civil and political liberty, every government must be divided into three co-ordinate and independent departments, with a separate and distinct class of functions assigned to each, so that each may become a check upon the unlawful designs and aggressions of the others. This proposition may well be considered a truism by American political writers, and we cannot discover that Professor Parker has thrown any new light upon it, has based it upon any surer foundation of *a priori* reasoning or of experience, or has made its importance to appear any more clear and certain. It was well to insist upon it while lecturing to the young men beginning their studies, but the book would have been better without it. Professor Parker sets out with the statement that "systems of government are of three sorts—monarchical, the government of one; oligarchical, that of a few; democratic, that of the whole." We may remark in passing that this is neither an exhaustive nor an accurate method of describing governments according to their outward form. All the sovereignty of a nation does in truth reside in that aggregate which we call the people, and every government is merely their creature and instrument, and ultimately derives all power as a trust from them; yet, when we examine the actual governments which now exist, we shall find no such thing as a democracy in the sense given by Professor Parker. There is no instance in which the administration of all public affairs is committed to "the whole." There

* "Three Lectures delivered in the Law School of Harvard College and in Dartmouth College. By Joel Parker." New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1869.

are, perhaps, a very few civilized nations in which a monarch holds and wields all political functions; but in the vast majority of actual cases the government is in the hands of a few, or, as we should prefer to say, of a part. If such governments be oligarchies, then the United States and Great Britain are oligarchies, as well as France, Austria, and Prussia. Austin very properly calls such forms aristocracies, and separates them, by a line of division impossible to be drawn with any exactness, into oligarchies, where the power is lodged in the hands of a very few, and democracies, in which it is confided to a large number of that entire aggregate called the people. By this classification the United States and Great Britain would fall into the rank of democracies, although in neither country is there anything like a government "of the whole."

Professor Parker next proceeds to elaborate the proposition that each of the three kinds of government may be despotic. This is certainly true. The *forma imperii*, as the German writers say, has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the *forma regiminis*. An uncontrolled few may as easily wield their power without rule and limit as an uncontrolled monarch or an uncontrolled "whole." Indeed, a pure democracy, or government of the whole (if there were any such thing), would of very necessity be a despotism, because the self-same body which possesses the administrative function would also hold the ultimate sovereignty. In order to preserve civil and political liberty, there must be some constitution emanating from the sovereign whole, which shall be a check upon the actual rulers, and which may be written, promulgated by a conscious act of the sovereign body, or may be historical and traditional. Professor Parker finds this check, as our fathers found it, in a scheme which separates the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments, makes them free as well as co-ordinate, and allots to each a distinct class of functions. So far, we must entirely agree with his positions. But it is to be remarked that the United States is the only nation in which such a complete freedom, as well as separation, has ever been attempted or even suggested, and this is the radical idea of our whole system which distinguishes it from that of European countries. The separation into executive, legislative, and judicial is common enough; it is the freedom of each to act within its own sphere which is peculiar to ourselves. There is no such thing in England as an independent judiciary considered as a co-ordinate and free branch of the government—in the American acceptance of the term—for the simple reason that it is impossible for the class of questions which we call constitutional to arise and come before the British courts, while it is the very power of our own tribunals to entertain and decide such questions which makes them an independent and co-ordinate department in the political system. Nor is there any longer a free executive in Great Britain. Of course, whatever of executive power exists is entrusted in fact to the ministers of the crown and not to the crown itself. For a long time these ministers were in theory, and to a considerable extent in practice, independent of the Parliament in respect of those powers which are administrative rather than legislative, and they also assumed to lead the two Houses in all important matters of legislation. But this time has passed away. The ministers are now only the servants of Parliament, directly carrying out its will in the executive as well as in the legislative department. Recent events have shown that the House of Commons has drawn to itself all political power, and now wields, without any effective organic and constitutional restraint, the function of administering as well as of making the laws. Great Britain has become a nation practically governed by a single representative body, whose majority possesses absolute authority, and is held in check by sentiments only, and not by institutions.

The lecture concludes by a reference to recent facts which indicate a partial abandonment of the radical idea of our own national Constitution. Among these are mentioned certain unauthorized acts of the President during the war, and especially the emancipation proclamation—"that great humbug"—the proclamation of martial law, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the arrest, detention, and trial of civilians by military officers and tribunals. Since the war, Congress has striven to override and destroy the independence of the President, of the Judiciary, and of the States. This is shown by its denial of representation to the revolted States at the return of peace, by its whole course of legislation in respect to reconstruction and in respect to the Executive, and by the limitations which it has placed upon the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. We shall not follow Professor Parker through this portion of the lecture. Dissenting from many of his conclusions, with some of them we heartily agree. But we must say that throughout the whole discussion he exhibits an acrimony of manner and spirit which is more naturally expected of the partisan newspaper than of a learned lecturer to students of jurisprudence.

The second lecture opens with the statement that "there are two theories in relation to the Constitution of the United States which not only differ widely in reference to its origin and the powers which exist under it, but which may lead to very different results in regard to its amendment." These are said to be: (1) That the States were originally sovereign and independent; that they formed the Constitution by surrendering a portion of their powers to the General Government, and thus created a nation and a people by this act of union; and that separate States are therefore necessary, not only to the orderly working, but even to the very existence of the Constitution, the Government, and the nation. (2) That the nation and the sovereign people thereof were called into being by the Declaration of Independence, existed as such prior to the Constitution, adopted that fundamental act as the expression of their supreme will, and delegated some powers to the General Government and others to the separate States. The lecturer has here quietly ignored the doctrines of Calhoun and his school of extremists, who deny that there is now, or ever has been, any nation, and assert that the United States is merely a league of sovereign and independent commonwealths. Professor Parker maintains the first theory with much earnestness and no little dogmatism, and evidently supposes that the second has no basis of fact or of reasoning on which to rest. He occupies the exact ground which has long been held by the Democratic party, and upon which Mr. Alexander H. Stephens has lately placed himself. We do not intend to examine the professor's argument. It is enough to say that the question whether the several States or the one people were the original sovereigns is one of fact, not depending upon what has been said, but upon what has been done. That a nation—a people—exists is a historic truth, not a logical conclusion. We may enquire in passing, however, if Professor Parker can tell us when the States formed out of the cessions from France and Spain and the conquests from Mexico became sovereign. This territory never belonged to the other commonwealths individually. It was bought or conquered, and governed by the United States, and the States themselves became such only by an act of Congress. The same is virtually true of all the other commonwealths, except the original thirteen colonies which unitedly revolted. But in maintaining his dogmas, the professor is forced to some conclusions which, we should suppose, must have given his logical mind a good deal of a strain. Thus, when he finds in the preamble the statement that "We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution," which to the common mind would imply the existence of that people, he is driven, by a course of reasoning which is, in the true sense of the term, absurd, to the self-contradictory result that this people, represented as ordaining the Constitution, were in fact called into being by, and at the same moment as, the instrument itself; in other words, the creators were themselves created by and with their creation. Some of the fables of Hindu mythology go as far as this, but surely nothing else does.

We will not stop to comment upon the propositions which Prof. Parker lays down in regard to the status of the revolted States after the close of the war. They are the legitimate deductions from the premises assumed, and they necessarily lead to an establishment of the right of secession and to a destruction of the very idea of nationality. They are one and the same with the teachings which for a generation had been given in Southern colleges to Southern young men, and which did so much to make rebellion possible. It is much to be hoped that the students of no leading Northern institution will become indoctrinated with such exploded heresies.

In the third lecture, our attention is called to three dangers which menace the Republic. These are said to be an undue extension of territory, an undue extension of the right of suffrage, and an undue desire for office. Of the first and third we shall say nothing. Under the second, the notion that the suffrage is a manhood right is vehemently assailed. But the discussion is chiefly directed to the questions of negro and of female suffrage. In regard to the former, we must say that the professor does not object to the electoral capacity being conferred upon negroes as such, but to its being granted to so many ignorant negroes. In regard to the latter, the objections appear to be that God never designed women to vote, because Hagar did not vote against Abraham's putting her out of his house or tent, and because we are not told that the Queen of Sheba, or any of the New Testament women, voted. We are then referred to many instances of women distinguished in history who did not vote, among whom are mentioned Zenobia and the wives of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is also urged, not in a single jocular remark, but through several pages of argument, that women should not be permitted to vote because in such case none but young and handsome men would stand any chance of election to office.

But we have a graver fault to find with this lecture. It cannot be said

to contain a sentence of reasoning; it is simply a mass of vituperations and personal attacks upon what are called the "leaders of the dominant party." Bad motives are imputed with the same freedom as by the most unscrupulous partisan editor. Republicans are said to advocate negro suffrage only to maintain themselves in power; the Southern States are reconstructed solely for the benefit of party; offices are sought and held only in the hope of plunder. These and similar charges are repeated *ad nauseam*. We are willing and anxious that professors of law and civil polity, when before their classes, should handle the important subjects of the day with perfect freedom, and not shun them because they involve the measures of opposing parties; but we cannot say less than that this lecture transcends the limits of decency, and degrades the professorial chair almost to the level of the Southwestern Democratic stump—an institution which one would not expect to find established at a college which claims Webster and Choate and Chase.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR JULY.

THE two things that most strike a thoughtful American in England—that force themselves on his attention while he is dutifully on his way to the Abbey which he has crossed the ocean to see, or while he is enthusiastically making his pilgrimage to Oxford or Stratford—are the dreadful squalor of the lowest class of Englishmen, and what seems like the indifference of the rich and ruling classes to the hopeless degradation and wretchedness of so many millions of their fellow-beings. Cases like that of the miserable man and woman—though they were respectable, intelligent, and to some extent educated—who, the other day, in London, poisoned their two sleeping children and then themselves, in utter despair of finding work and wages, attract always a good deal of pitying and enquiring attention, and regularly cause the newspapers to point out that the suffering must be great from which such relief is sought. But, on the other hand, how likely such comments are to dispel the general carelessness may be partly guessed from the laughter and contempt which greeted Mr. Gladstone's recent question whether people like the couple just mentioned, and people of the classes just above them, were not "our own flesh and blood"—laughter not wholly caused by Mr. Gladstone's use of a sentimental argument or transgression of the House's standard of taste.

That the subject demands the gravest consideration Mr. Norton's careful article in this last number of the *North American* makes very evident. Of the twenty million inhabitants of England and Wales, nine millions are in the receipt of an average yearly income of £35, which is a little less than two shillings a day; or, if we count one other person as dependant on each of these persons with a two-shilling daily income, we have eighteen millions out of the twenty millions of English and Welsh living on a shilling a day. The disproportion between the incomes of the rich and the poor is as striking as the immense disparity in the numbers of the two classes. Eighteen millions live on a shilling a day, while the class who (with their dependants) possess yearly incomes of more than £300 have for their support £633 a piece, or about thirty-five shillings daily, and number only 400,000. What this means when taken out of abstract figures and put into facts, no one can realize who has not seen it. "Constantly increasing rates," says Mr. Goschen; "constantly increasing pauperism; millions of money spent, yet without satisfaction; and, infinitely worse, millions of human beings whose very name implies a degradation in their own eyes." Take the case of the farm-laborer in Herefordshire. There, says one writer, his "ordinary wages are nine shillings a week; his ordinary home is two small rooms, through the thatched roof of which the rain drops on to a floor half mud and half broken stones; his daily food dry bread and rough cider; his normal condition one of ignorance and squalor." Things can hardly be much better off in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, where the weekly wages is ten shillings and sixpence. The laborer's cottage is described by one observer as "miserable," by a second as "deplorable," by a third as "detestable," by a fourth as "a disgrace to a Christian community." "Modesty," says another, "must be an unknown virtue, decency an unimaginable thing, where, in one small chamber, with the beds lying as thickly as they can be packed, father, mother, young men, lads, grown and growing-up girls—two and sometimes three generations—are herded promiscuously; . . . where the whole air is sensual, and human nature is degraded into something below the level of the swine." Unchastity is perfectly common, and "incest anything but uncommon." "Very few laborers over forty," says Mr. Mechi, "can read and write;" and Mr. Edward Stanhope reports that the object of the farmers is "to keep the school down; their view is that more than a little education is very much too much; they are afraid the laborer will be spoiled for field-

work"—a suggestion that marshals the friends of England the way they should be going: to spoil the laborer for the life of field-work which we have just been looking at is what no politico-economical considerations ought to prevent them from striving to do. The town laborer is not much better off, though somewhat better off he undoubtedly is. Let any educated person, says Mr. John Simon, medical officer of the Privy Council—any person who knows the conditions under which alone animal life can thrive—"learn by personal inspection how far these conditions are realized by the masses of our population, and form for himself a conscientious judgment as to the need for great, if not almost revolutionary, reforms. Let any such person devote an hour to visiting some very poor region of the metropolis, or in almost any of our large towns. Let him breathe its air, taste its water, eat its bread; let him fancy what it would be to himself to live there in that beastly degradation of stink, fed with such bread, drinking such water." And the worst of it is, that this state of things does not diminish in spite of the well-judged and ill-judged attempts at diminishing it, but increases; and that the "dangerous classes," and the pauper and ignorant classes—dangerous enough, too—increase in an accelerated ratio from year to year. Mr. Goschen says that in the two years from 1866 to 1868 there was an addition of twenty per cent. to the army of metropolitan paupers.

Yet in spite of such facts some things that Mr. Norton relates would give one some courage to hope that the great body of the English people are not becoming imbruted, if it were not that the exceptional cases are those of people who showed a heroism in resisting their outward circumstances which of itself would assure us how idle it is to expect for them many imitators. We hear of one woman whose husband was a shepherd earning ten shillings a week, "besides what he got at lambing time." Upon this sum (out of which they paid sixty-three shillings annual house-rent), the pair brought up a family of eight girls and six boys, never had a penny from the parish, and never let their girls go out into the field to become demoralized. The girls even learned to read and write, but the boys are less educated, as three of them began to go out to work at six years of age, and one has on this account never been able to learn his letters. The woman remembered the time when her husband's wages being ten shillings a week, and she having nine children to feed, fourteen pounds of flour cost three-and-sixpence—a time that was probably before the repeal of the corn-laws, the repeal of which, sure enough, is no wonder. And as that was done at last, so perhaps there may be something done now to remove the burden which is weighing England down and making her great cities a defilement of civilization. It must be nearly time; already it is found that a Scotchman in the field can do the work of two English laborers, and English artisanship is behind that of the Continent in very many branches in which formerly it was unrivalled; the men are deteriorating in body and in mind. But it is Englishmen who are loudest in their outcries against the present order of things, and the day is not come yet for any one to fear that England will not somehow contrive to do her duty. But the task is immense; and if it were not for the outlet afforded by emigration—an outlet more used each year—one might be compelled to think of the "almost revolutionary reforms" of which Mr. Simon speaks. At all events, it seems as if there must be some revolutionizing of British notions of the office of the state and of British unwillingness to permit its larger activity, unless we are to see the state quiescent till the weight of misery which it controls shall subvert it.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams, junior, makes an article, entitled "A Chapter on Erie," which is certainly admirably well done. It must have been a work of great labor to track the courses of the Drews, Vanderbilts, Fisks, Barnards, Cookes, Mattoons, Cardozos, and the rest of the men who have let us see so plainly that neither Wall Street, the New York bench, nor the Albany Legislature had previously taught us all they had to teach of the most audacious and shameless disregard of honesty and honor. If we were going to find any fault with Mr. Adams's essay, it would be that perhaps the reader unlearned in law, and in the manipulations of stock operations, will not fully understand much more than that the various parties to the contest were all a set of rascals together. To protect the community against the thieving and other villany of these men, it will be necessary that something more definite than this charge against them be impressed on the minds of the people at large, and the narrative cannot be made too clear. School-girls ought to be made to see just how every man who put his money into Erie stock has had a certain number of dollars stolen from him by certain men, church-members and others, in Wall Street; and how certain judges, who claim for themselves and families the civil regard of their fellow-citizens, have been

bought and sold, and have even been privy to the hiring of kidnappers and possible assassins. But the story, as it stands, will well repay a little study. And to the reader who comes to its perusal not wholly unprepared, it will be as interesting as a novel, in virtue of its story, and very agreeable for its style—a style relieved by a prevailing tone of sarcasm and satirical contempt, which gratify the reader much as an honest expression of public opinion in regard to Mr. Adams's quarry would gratify him, that is, which seems to put the men in their proper place, and thus relieves the mind from the indignation with which it sees the wicked flourishing, and the mean in high places, and the decent man beguiled of his stock. Governor Claflin—in spite of the fact that some practical politicians in Cambridge speak of Mr. Adams as a young man who has lately been writing in the *North American Review* about railroads—has certainly done well to make him one of the State Commissioners to examine into the management of Massachusetts railroads. They are like other railroads in other States, and will bear a certain amount of watching very well, and “practical railroad men,” while they are very good at watching, are not always so good at telling what they see; they have defects of style; but a clear style is an important qualification in a commissioner who is to enlighten the people at large. Why will not some of the publishers get out a cheap pamphlet edition of the essay? To do so would be to deserve well of the Republic, and, we should think, to put money in the publisher's purse.

Mr. John Fiske, in his “Laws of History,” is very efficacious in his handling of Professor Draper, who, however, may hardly require quite so much labor; his views do not now meet with wide acceptance; we had supposed it was only the Roman Catholic reviewers who now brought him out for formal attack. For the rest, Mr. Fiske's essay explicates very well the law of progress in history, and also applies Mr. Herbert Spencer's (heterogeneity and homogeneity) law of organic life to historical phenomena—an application which seems to us decidedly rather of speculative than of practical importance. Professor Allen's article on “The Religion of Ancient Greece” leaves off at the point where the general reader begins to be most interested, but to scholars it will be welcome as giving—not without additional critical remarks of value—the latest and best views in regard to the Greek mythology, in its mythic stage, comparatively considered. Professor J. D. Whitney on Volcanoes, and Dr. Isaac Ray on Hereditary Insanity, are both authorities, and so we may consider Mr. Karl Blind on the politics of “Hungary and Roumania,” of which he seems to take a judicious view, favoring the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and deprecating Roumanian independence as sure to end in the Russification of the Principalities and Turkey.

We hope Mr. J. M. Merrick, jr., is not too hopeful in his anticipations of what is going to happen to us in the way of wine-making and salvation from whiskey as a national beverage. He expresses the opinion—and not sarcastically, but with real enthusiasm—that before the next decade is over we shall see “American wines ranked as their merits deserve.” The unmixed juice of the Delaware grape already, he says, yields “a wine of which any vigneron or any country may well be proud;” the little wine that has been made from the Iona grape has astonished everybody, and gives a wine which “will enable us to rival in this country the very choicest and most famous vineyards of the Rhine;” “one of Mr. Bull's seedlings produces a very fine port wine;” “the Rogers Hybrid No. 1 is said to make a fine sparkling wine;” and the Hermon grape of Missouri “gives, it is said, a genuine Madeira wine.” Mr. Merrick seems very sure of living to see the grape culture and the wine-making interest of the country equal in value the cotton crop or the hay crop, and he quotes from Mr. Bull, of Concord, one new, ingenious, and forcible reason why we all may join in his wish: It is a crying evil that the young men abandon the country and betake themselves to the city, because the farm-work is odious, and moreover is unprofitable, so that the farmer lives close to the limit of his means, and has no money to expend on self-culture or to make his home attractive to his boys and girls. Now, says Mr. Bull, the culture of the vine is easy, and the making of wine a very interesting and light form of highly skilled labor; the harvest is delightful, a holiday in fact, and the profits are considerable. Under Mr. Bull's own encouragement, a good many of the farmers in his neighborhood have added considerably to their incomes by grape-raising, and in this same way, as he believes, a vast number of the farming class might be raised from the condition of being slaves to the soil up to independence and competence, and he adds, “I confess, gentlemen, that this aspect of the case gives me more pleasure than any other”—as well it may. Perhaps, too—who knows?—the decay of Mr. Bull's native New England, and the loss that all the world would suffer in losing the New England mind, or a great part of it, might be averted or

long delayed if a good article of cheap red wine were added to the native diet. The boy may now be born who shall live to see coffee, and pie, and rum, and the various sorts of medicinal “bitters,” all discarded from the New England table, and to see ruddy faces and contented countenances and a cheerful theology and sound digestions as common in Massachusetts as in Gascony itself, or in Normandy, where man, woman, and child drink cider and milk at every meal.

The critical notices are few but able, with the exception of one or two.

History of the Town of Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its first settlement to 1868, with a genealogical register of Lexington families. By Charles Hudson. (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt.)—There are not a few superfluous pages in this on the whole interesting and well-constructed work. We do not mean that the chapters which trace the origin and progress of the Revolution, both before and after Lexington's famous participation in it, should have been omitted. They might have been greatly condensed, however; and if the first thirty-two pages of the book were dropped altogether, the true beginning of it would be found in the right place. His readers can discover betimes and skip Mr. Hudson's pardonable commonplaces and patriotic outpourings, and will not find it too hard to forgive him for them; but they may not all be able to detect the inexact and erroneous generalizations in which he frequently indulges, of course with the worst possible waste of space. We have in mind particularly his notions of the purposes of the Puritan fathers, and his apology for them, where we might have expected more clearness and correct information in a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and also his statement, “on a broader scale,” of “the causes which led to the Revolution.” The chapter devoted to the latter deals exclusively with the question of the right of taxation, and leaves out of sight the numerous enactments, long previous to the Stamp Act, by which the industry and commerce of the colonies were hampered and repressed in the most outrageous manner. “We have seen,” says Mr. Hudson, a little later, “that the controversy originated in the question of taxation;” which, if true, would make the Revolution a sudden outbreak, instead of a growth, and a contest for abstract right instead of resistance to the most concrete and material grievances. This, to be sure, is the popular and traditional way of looking at it, and so is the view that “though our high-minded and patriotic [Revolutionary] statesmen, North and South, regarded the institution [of slavery] as corrupt and degrading to our national character, they fondly believed that the odious system would soon cease in the Republic.” And, finally, granting that “slavery in Massachusetts was never hereditary by law,” can any one assert that “there never was a time when our courts would not have given freedom to the children of slaves?” At least, there is no proving such a proposition.

We have touched first on Mr. Hudson's weak points, and the parts of his history which do not immediately relate to Lexington. When able to put his own hand upon documents, we have found him what we may call a pleasant and judicious, if hardly graphic, chronicler, and trustworthy enough. His chief business with the town, as he confesses, is to describe the battle of Lexington—a twenty-minute skirmish on the town common—and the retreat of the British from Concord; and to give biographies of the two eminent divines whose combined ministry lasted from 1698 to 1805. All this is carefully done. The Rev. John Hancock and his kinsman, the Rev. Jonas Clarke, were men and clergymen of uncommon force of character—the latter illustrating, by the lead he took in public affairs, the view which Locke held of true politics as a part of moral philosophy, and therefore within the natural province of the pulpit. He wrote the town's Revolutionary manifestoes, and they are fine specimens of that sort of documents. Both these clergymen were Calvinistic in their theology, and yet not only is the First Parish of to-day Unitarian, but “the Calvinistic Congregationalists have no organization in Lexington.” It would be interesting to learn how this change of faith was brought about under the successors of Hancock and Clarke—who, says Mr. Hudson, were mild and liberal in doctrine—and Mr. Hudson should have told us. Lexington owed much, and in many ways, to the neighboring university, and its Calvinism was perhaps tempered from the first by Harvard College; but we infer that Mr. Clarke's successor, the Rev. Avery Williams, at whose ordination the Rev. Dr. Kendal assisted, was the middle term between the old faith and the new; and yet he was a graduate of Princeton. The Unitarians, indeed, have the strongest associations with the Lexington of the present century. There preached, at various times, Follen, Emerson, May, and Staples; and there was born, grandson of the Captain John Parker who led the minutemen at Lexington, the Rev. Theodore Parker, in whose study visitors used

to see the musket carried by his ancestor on the memorable April day, and now preserved in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts.

The military history of Lexington in the French wars, the Revolution, and the late rebellion, puts the patriotism and courage of its inhabitants in high relief. They have shown a just pride in the opening conflict of the Revolution, and we only hope they will not be persuaded to substitute a pretentious and probably badly designed monument for the plain and sufficient shaft that now tells the story of duty unadorned. And, by the way, in spite of the rivalry for glory between Concord and Lexington, Mr. Hudson, in giving a long extract from the late Mr. Everett in commemoration of the battle, might have admitted Emerson's beautiful ode, beginning

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

In celebrating the whole day, these verses deserved a place corresponding to Lincoln's masterpiece at Gettysburg. In its educational provisions, the town has served as an example to others, and was the scene of the experiment of the first Normal School. In its ecclesiastical experience, it suffered no disturbance by reason of the Dedham decision of 1820, as the Unitarians had possession both of the town and of the parish; but the division of the ministerial fund gave rise to a controversy which caused no little unpleasantness in the community.

Mr. Hudson has taken great pains with his very full and orderly

Genealogy, in which, besides names already mentioned, will be found the pedigrees of the Hoars and Lawrences, and other families of local or national renown. That mistakes occur in these records is to be expected, of course. The labor involved in preparing them is enormous, the materials unequally accessible, and while the chances of original error are almost infinite, the printing adds still others. It is not in a spirit of hypercriticism that we venture to point to an obvious contradiction in dates occurring on opposite pages, but referring to the same event: Did John Parker marry Hannah Stearns Feb. 17, 1785 (p. 172), or Feb. 7, 1784 (p. 173)? That the latter date is probably the true one is shown by the date of the birth of their first child.

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Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1868, 2,563,002 30
Total amount of Marine Premiums, \$9,345,972 12

No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire Risks disconnected with Marine Risks.
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1868, to 31st December, 1868, \$6,807,970 89

Losses paid during the same period, \$3,081,080 49

Returns of Premiums and expenses, \$1,383,230 61

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Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise, 2,214,100 00
Real Estate and Bonds and Mortgages, 210,000 00
Interest and sundry Notes and Claims due the Company, estimated at, 250,520 03
Premium Notes and Bills receivable, 2,063,267 53
Cash in Bank, 406,548 83

Total Amount of Assets, \$13,660,881 89

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The outstanding certificates of the issue of 1865 will be redeemed and paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Second of February next, from which date all interest thereon will cease. The certificates to be produced at the time of payment and cancelled.

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LIABILITIES, 75,489 35

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Due Stockholders on account of 29th and 30th Dividends, 625 00

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